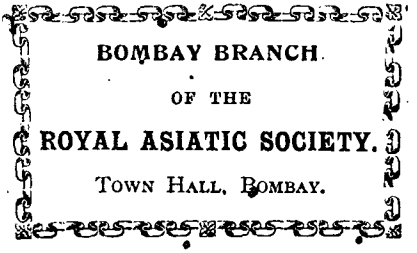
00088243



Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 09 March, 2016

REMINISCENCES OF SYRIA,

ETC. ETC. ETC.

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY BOMBAY BRANCH

From Nature by Lieut Elliott, R.N.

W Clerk, Lith. 102 High Holborn

COMMODORE NAPIER'S ATTACK ON THE HEIGHTS OF BOHARSEF.

REMINISCENCES OF SYRIA,

AND

FRAGMENTS OF A JOURNAL AND LETTERS

FROM

THE HOLY LAND.

BY

LIEUT.-COLONEL E. NAPIER,

LATE 46TH REGIMENT, F. R. G. S.

AUTHOR OF "SCENES AND SPORTS IN FOREIGN LANDS," "EXCURSIONS ALONG THE SHORES OF THE MEDITERRANEAN," ETC.

88243

———— "Rude am I in speech,
And little blest with the set phrase of peace;
For since these arms of mine had seven*teen* years' pith,
Till now some nine moons wasted, they have used
Their dearest action in the tented field."—OTHELLO.

ZA.4.2.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

LONDON:

T. C. NEWBY, 65, MORTIMER STREET,

CAVENDISH SQUARE.

1843.

915.
88243

00088243

REMINISCENCES OF SYRIA.

CHAP. VII.

A RECONNOISSANCE ON THE ENEMY.

DEPARTURE FROM BEYROUT AND ARRIVAL AT ACRE.

"First in the van, the people of the rock,
On their light mountain steeds of royal stock,
The chieftains of Damascus, proud to see
The flashing of their swords rich marquetry."
MOORE.

AFFAIRS in Syria assumed towards the latter end of November, 1840, a most quiescent aspect. Ibrahim Pacha had concentrated his army at Zachlé in the plain of Baalbec, and the Emir Beschir, quartered at Hämänah, with between two and three thousand Mountaineers, cautiously watched his movements from the top of Lebanon, whilst

we were all comfortably smoking our pipes at Beyrout, and seemed quietly settled down for the winter: in fact all parties appeared as if by mutual consent to have rested for a while on their arms. Things remained for some time in this state, when at last an intimation was received from the Emir, that the enemy, having broken up his cantonments at the foot of the mountain, had retired across the Anti-Libanus. As it was of importance to ascertain this fact, on the 21st of November, Colonel Bridgeman (who had lately, from England, joined Sir Charles Smith's staff) together with Lieut. Rowan of the Royal Artillery,—the General's aide-de-camp,—and myself, received orders to start next day, and bring some account of the Egyptians;—the subjoined letter which I wrote immediately on our return, may suitably precede a more formal account of the reconnoissance we made on the occasion:—

"15*th November.*

"Here we are, safely returned; and I will endeavour to give you some account of our proceedings.

"The party, consisting of Colonel Bridgeman (the senior officer), Lieut. Rowan of the Artillery, myself, my interpreter Giorgio, and a marine of the name of Gardiner, (whom the Commodore left behind to look after my horses), quitted, Beyrout on the morning of the 22nd, and arrived without accident at Hāmānah, (the temporary residence of the Grand Prince); we, however, found the place deserted, as Ibrahim had retired into the Anti-Libanus, and the Prince now occupied his camp at a place called Zāchlé, in the plain of Baalbec. After giving our horses and selves something to eat, we got under weigh, and reached the head-quarters of the Emir Beschir in the evening, after a ride of nine hours, during which I sketched in all the road. We found the Emir Beschir just sitting down to his supper, which we partook of in the Eastern style, seated on cushions round a metal tray, covered with dishes of rice, &c. into which we all indiscriminately dipped our fingers, or tearing off small flakes of thin flat cakes doing duty for bread, rolled up bits of meat

in them, and in that state conveyed them to our mouths,—then followed coffee and narghilis (water pipes) and chibouques,—after which the attendants who had hitherto been standing round, staring at us as at wild beasts during feeding-time, took their departure, and we entered on business,—when we learnt that Ibrahim had broken up his camp here two or three days before, and had, as was supposed, retired across the Anti-Libanus to Damascus. It was agreed that next morning we should each, (Colonel B. and self), be furnished with escorts, and proceed in different directions to endeavour to gain certain intelligence of the enemy's movements.

"After smoking several pipes and drinking coffee, we all retired to another apartment; I to finish my military sketch of the road, the others to endeavour to sleep. I say *endeavour*, as the multitude of fleas rendered it no easy matter so to do. It would have amused you to have witnessed the scene in our dormitory—myself, by the light of a dim candle stuck into an inkstand,

working away on my sabre-tâche, for table there was none,—whilst some of the party, rolled up in their cloaks, were either snoring after the fatigues of the day, or cursing the pigmy enemies which kept them awake.

"In the morning Lieutenant Rowan was sent back with the intelligence we had collected,—Colonel Bridgeman and myself proceeding on our respective missions. We mustered our forces, and, dividing them in two parties, had each an escort of about twenty-five fine looking fellows, who from their appearance you would fancy were complete fire-eaters—but I soon learned to estimate them at their real value. Behold me, then, at the head of a set of wild Mountaineers, with the banner of black ostrich feathers floating overhead—as passing the "tomb of Noah," at Kérāk, we crossed the extensive plain of Baalbec, and approached the sides of the Anti-Libanus. This plain is the granary of the East, being seventy or eighty miles in length, and seven or eight in breadth, perfectly level, and not a house or tree seen in its whole extent, which is richly culti-

vated, and in the spring,—when clothed in maize, barley, and Indian corn,—must resemble the "Vega" of Granada.

"On approaching the opposite range of mountains, my escort showed great reluctance to enter the pass, and about half the party sneaked off, one by one, whilst the remainder shewed every symptom of wishing to retrace their steps. I happened to have in my pocket a "Union Jack" handkerchief, and hoisting it on the end of the spear with the black ostrich plume, I told them they could never think of deserting the united banner of England and the Mountain,—this succeeded, and I got them on seven or eight miles further.

"It would have put you strongly in mind of Don Quixote and Sancho Panza, to have seen me and my trusty squire, Gardiner, at this moment. I entrusted the banner to him, and, throwing out an advanced guard, pushed on at the head of my little troop of semi-barbarians, in appearance very like one myself, habited in a shell-jacket and dragoon trowsers, well cased with leather,—pistols in

my belt, and an enormous Turkish sabre dangling by my side. I doubt not the facsimile of the knight of la Mancha was complete except in one particular, and that was the "Monture;" for the charger I bestrode was a noble Arab, which the Commodore had given me at his departure. Well, I got the rascals to follow me in this manner the whole way across the Anti-Libanus, until we came to a pass overlooking the plain of Damascus—here they came to a dead halt, and refused to advance a step further; I prayed, swore, and threatened—all in vain; and at last telling them all to go to h—l, for a set of poltroons, including a couple of *princes* of the party, old Gardiner and myself pushed down the hill, and entered the town of Zébédéni alone.

"We found the place in possession of a freebooter of the name of Hassan Cadi—to whose house I went immediately; but as I was not exactly sure of the reception I might meet with, I put a bold face on the matter, went into his apartment, and, thanks to the Arabic lessons of my pretty friends at Bey-

rout, told him, without the help of an interpreter, we were come to his assistance with English forces, that he was a monstrous fine fellow, and God knows what more,—which, however, ended by his calling for pipes and coffee, after which ceremony you have nothing more to apprehend from an Arab. I now learnt that Ibrahim had left Zébédéni two days before, and was then at Damascus (a few hours distance) but that he intended to move to the south. I should have liked to have pushed forward, but my horse was too much fagged to go on such an expedition, when he might have had to depend on his speed to escape, for I was sure I should not be supported by my mountain friends, who by this time, seeing all was right, had arrived with great *tomashah*, firing off their muskets and shewing other expressions of joy. It was, however, getting late, and having accomplished the object of obtaining positive information relative to the enemy, I mounted my horse and set off on my return. I forgot, however, to say that all this time, the union-jack was proudly floating in front

of the Sheikh's house, and as my old marine remarked, it was, perhaps, the first time that the British colours had floated in the plains of Damascus. A glance at a chart of Syria will shew you my course. Look out for Beyrout; then nearly due east, is Hămānah (commonly written Mār Hănā) then Zāchlé, then over the other range of hills Zébédéni, and a little further Damascus. On returning, I missed my road, and did not reach the Emir Beschir till after midnight, having been nearly eighteen hours on horseback.

"*24th.* Started at daylight to take a sketch of Noah's tomb at Kérāk, about a mile off. Old Noah must have been a grenadier, for his tomb, which is in a sort of temple, is ninety-nine feet long, and they say that his legs are doubled up under him. I send you a piece of the cloth which covers it in its whole length. Send a bit to * * * * in lieu of the cedar, which I do not know when I shall be able to get. On returning to the Emir's, I found that Colonel Bridgeman had left, whilst old Gardiner and the charger

I had ridden the day before, were so completely knocked up, that I was obliged to leave them behind in charge of my dragoman Giorgio. Starting, therefore, with my Arab Saïs (or groom) Yusuf, the latter on foot, I put myself "en marche," and soon entered the hills.

* * * *

"About three o'clock, P.M. I reached the Albanian camp, overlooking the Plain of Beyrout,—my horse done up, and myself rather the worse for hunger, thirst, and a three days' hard fag. I therefore mustered all my Greek, and going to the Chief, Ibrahim Bey, a fine, handsome looking fellow, said:—"Pino,—thipso, (I hunger—I thirst) I want bread for my servant, and corn for my horse." When, the next moment, I was comfortably seated on the carpet of repose, smoking the pipe of peace with a ruffian, who had probably cut as many throats as he has teeth in his head, but who, nevertheless, treated me sumptuously; and, in a quarter of an hour, we were both dipping our paws into savoury

dishes of khabobs, curdled milk, and a variety of other delicacies;—after another pipe and a cup of *tea*, I found myself once more on my way to Beyrout, which I reached just in time for Sir Charles Smith's dinner."

* * * * *

Mālāchah is a small village in the plain of Baalbec, contiguous to the considerable town of Zāchlé, placed in a deep gorge of the Lebanon, and surrounded on all sides by steep heights. It was long after dark when we arrived at the former place, the late head-quarters of Ibrahim, but now occupied by the Grand Prince, who received us with his usual affability and kindness;—after a very friendly hug, and having duly introduced the rest of the party, who were strangers to him, pipes and coffee were produced; but it was not till after the conclusion of the evening meal, that the business we had come upon was at all broached; and it is this constant propensity to procrastination and delay, even in the most important affairs, which renders all communications with Easterns so irksome and unsatisfactory

to an European. The messenger, coming on an errand of life and death, would be considered as extremely wanting in the important attributes of dignity, etiquette, and decorum, were he to open the purport of his mission ere he had smoked his pipe, sipped the "fingain" of coffee, paid a long string of compliments, and made a thousand inquiries after the state of health of the parties concerned. Nor was it till after all these preliminaries had been duly gone through, and on the conclusion of an abundant repast, which we partook of with his highness, that he would listen to any thing relating to business.

"El Ashe," or supper, having concluded with the usual eructatory* compliments, the necessary ablutions,—the soap-sudding having been duly performed,—and a fresh supply of chibouques and narghilis brought in, the attendants stood respectfully around,

* This act, in the East, after meals, is considered in any other light than as a breach of good manners; on the contrary, it proves that the guest has fared well, is "Hage," (replenished,) and in a comfortable condition.

with crossed arms and looks fixed on the ground, whilst the Emir commenced an account of his descent into the plain, and of the retreat of Ibrahim, a couple of days before, and complained, as usual, of not being seconded by the Turks, with either men, money, provisions, or cannon.

Another peculiarity which forcibly strikes a Frank, in his intercourse with these "Wise men of the East," is that, although proverbially famed for astuteness, and the power of disguising their plans and sentiments, they never appear to hesitate in discussing the most important affairs;—and often, when secrecy is absolutely required,—before a large circle of attendants, who, although observing the most respectful silence, and in the most slave-like attitudes of fear and humility, are all the while greedily drinking in every thing that is uttered, to be, no doubt, afterwards largely retailed to whomsoever they may think worthy of their confidence.

As this might have been very much against our plan of operations for the

ensuing day, Colonel Bridgeman politely suggested that a little more privacy would be desirable,—when all the retinue were ordered to retire, with the exception of Seid Ali, a Turkish officer, who had been educated in England, and who, from his knowledge of our language, had been attached to the General's immediate Staff.

The old Emir heard with much pleasure, that active measures were in contemplation against the Egyptians, whose very name appeared to be execrated in the Mountains; nor was this without cause. During Ibrahim's protracted residence at Zāchlé and Mālāchah, he had been in the habit, to give some vent to his angry feelings, of making almost daily expeditions into the neighbouring hills, when every thing was put to fire and sword, and he used, on his return to head-quarters, to enumerate, with exultation, the number of hamlets and villages he had burnt, and the quantity of plantations, belonging to a poor and helpless peasantry, which he had ruined and destroyed; in short, if the accounts then circulated re-

specting this redoubted chief were to be credited, he was now in an almost frantic state of mind, had occasional fits of fury, when no one could in safety approach him, during which he would tear out by handfuls the hair of his beard, and perform many other antics of a maniac. In short, he appeared to be considered more in the light of a wild and ferocious animal, than as a being endowed with reason, or any of the attributes of humanity.

But what, in fact, could be expected in a man unrestrained by any feelings of religion, honour, or morality,—who, from his youth, like most other Mahomedans of rank, had been brought up in the indulgence of the most unbridled and disgraceful excesses; excesses which, in many parts of Europe, would have consigned him to the tender mercies of the hangman, but which were by him practised in the most open and shameless manner.* When such a man in the

* To prove this not to be a groundless accusation, the author had the positive assurance from an English medical officer, of undoubted honour and veracity, who

career of uninterrupted success, was suddenly and unexpectedly thwarted in his dearest projects, need it be matter of surprise that he should not only wound indiscriminately all within his reach, but even turn his fury against his own person?

* * * * * *

After finally settling that the Prince was, on the following day, to furnish us with a sufficient escort to further the execution of our instructions, we at last took leave, and

attended Ibrahim Pasha, during his subsequent illness at Gaza, of disclosures made without any attempt at secrecy and concealment, which alone, in the eyes of any Englishman, would have rendered his Highness worthy of an exalted position at Tyburn, or at least, of a free passage to Botany Bay! But, at the same time, the author will do Ibrahim the justice to say that in this respect he is not unique, as he can aver that at the door of every Turk of rank whom he met with during his residence in the Levant, the same charges might with equal justice have been laid; and it is beings of this detestable character whom the European powers condescend to treat as equals, and for whose support they are wasting blood and treasure! But forsooth, the *integrity* of the Ottoman empire is to be maintained, though it might puzzle the shrewdest diplomatists to find the least trace of such a quality in all its extensive dominions.

on returning were shewn into what was to be our sleeping apartment—a large covered barn, with a clay floor, on the walls of which hung suspended arms of every description, whilst stretched on the ground, for our accommodation, were some good rugs and quilted coverings, which the sharp night air rendered very acceptable,—in short, my companions rolled themselves up with the flattering hopes of soon recruiting from their fatigues by a sound and uninterrupted sleep, and were not a little witty at my expense, when, taking the drawing apparatus from my sabre-tâche, I seated myself on the ground, and expressed a determination of finishing, by the light of a bit of candle stuck against the side of a mud wall, the military sketch of the road we had followed during the day, and the rough outline of which was already laid down in pencil.

I was the more anxious to get this done, as Lieutenant Rowan was to return next day to the General with the information we had already obtained, and I intended him to be the bearer of my sketch, which they how-

ever predicted would occupy me during the greater part of the night, while they congratulated themselves on the repose they anticipated.

From sundry feelings I experienced shortly after taking my seat, and warned by former experience gained in the Ventas of Andalusia, I plainly saw that we had a formidable enemy in the camp, in the shape of innumerable legions of fleas, very likely to disturb the anticipated slumbers of my companions. I accordingly fortified my own precious person to the best of my power, by buttoning up closely my garments, and fastening a couple of handkerchiefs round the ancles, to prevent their entering the *breach* in that direction. I then quietly commenced my labours, and awaited the event. About two in the morning I had the satisfaction of finishing my drawing, including upwards of thirty miles of road, over a most broken and mountainous country, twenty of which I laid in fair, and having drawn out a corresponding report, enclosed the result of

my labours, with the following note to the general.

"My dear Sir Charles,

"I have just finished (in a way) the report of the road as far as Hāmānah, being about twenty miles; I should like to have got the rest done to-night (from Hāmānah to Mālāchah) but I must put it off till the morning. It cannot have much claim to great accuracy as I followed your instructions in not delaying the party, and only made use of a pocket compass to take the bearings. Bridgeman is at this moment busily engaged in *fleaing* himself, and as I am going to prepare for the same amusement, believe me to remain,

"Yours truly,

"E. Napier."

"To Major-General Sir
Charles Smith, C.B., &c."

Meanwhile my companions were writhing in all the agonies of a torture, which would not have disgraced the inventive powers of the Inquisition. Poor Bridgeman at last

became almost frantic; for a few minutes he occasionally got into a disturbed doze, when a "deep" though not "loud" curse on the "infernal" fleas, attracted my attention, and I beheld him scratching at a rate outdoing the greatest exertions in that way of any Scotch fiddler. This, however, was all in my favour; the pigmy foe was during this time appeasing its hunger, and as its fiery edge had been considerably blunted by the time I lay down, I was able to get a couple of hours tolerable repose, ere the mustering of horse in the yard below aroused us from our short and not very refreshing slumbers.

Orientals are not famed for the substantial nature of their morning repast, which generally consists in a cup of coffee and a pipe,—the more substantial meal being deferred till the mid-day hour. However, ere we moved off, we took care to lay in a stock of something more adapted to a march, and then our troop, to the number of some fifty or sixty well mounted horsemen, being paraded, the signal was given, when Colonel Bridgeman putting himself at the head of one party,

whilst I took charge of the other, we started in different directions, to obtain whatever intelligence we could collect of the enemy, the Colonel going to the southward whilst I was to cross the plain and enter the Anti-Libanus.

Brightly did the morning sun of Syria shine on my gay little troop, as prancing through the long and narrow street of Mālāchah, with the standard of the Mountain, the long lance, surmounted by a bunch of black ostrich feathers at our head,—and leaving Kérak and the tomb of Noah on our left, we struck across the level and fertile plain of Baalbec, the famed Cœlo-Syria of the ancients.

This granary of the Mountains is called by the natives "El-Séhél-é-Boccāh," or the plain of the Boccah, and at this period of the year, after the crops had been withdrawn, entirely divested as it is of trees and habitations, it has in the eye of the traveller but few claims to the picturesque, though the rich loose loam under his feet fully testifies to its great productive powers.

This absence of all signs of human habi-

tation is owing to the general state of insecurity, which obliges the peasantry to establish their abodes in the neighbouring mountains, along whose sides white roofs and walls were now to be seen brightly glittering under the oblique rays of the morning sun. Flocks of birds, apparently a species of starling, flew over our heads in such immense quantities that their dense masses might oft be seen to cast a shadow on the plain beneath, and their prodigious number was accounted for by the circumstance of the general disarmament of the peasantry, who, of late years, deprived of their fire-arms, had been unable to give way to their love of the chase, allowing thus at the same time so great an increase of these enemies to their harvests.

My mountain cavalry, glad of being on level ground, and having an opportunity of displaying their horsemanship and the mettle of their steeds, were going through various evolutions, which I easily foresaw, by fatiguing their horses, would not be in our favour in the long day's work we had

before us, to say nothing of the chance of our being obliged to put our "best foot foremost," in the event of a pursuit by a superior force of the enemy, whose position we were then about to ascertain; but it was not without great difficulty that I succeeded in making them adopt a more sober pace, which in about half an hour from Kérak brought us to a stream running through the length of the plain, and proving to be the Létani—or ancient Leontes.

In another hour we were entering the gorge leading into the Anti-Libanus, and so great was then the difficulty I experienced in getting forward my "mountain chivalry," notwithstanding the persuasions of a couple of Emirs who were of the party, that I was obliged to have recourse to the expedient before mentioned in my letter, and though this device succeeded for a time, it did not appear to meet the approval of my trusty squire. Gardiner was an old soldier,—had for many years filled the post of serjeant, and though proud of the new rank of "ensign," thus suddenly conferred upon

him, he very justly remarked that it would be a "devil of a business," if our colours were by any chance to fall into the hands of the rascally "Gyptians," who, even at that moment, might be hovering unseen on our flanks, as we slowly wound up the steep ascent leading through a long and narrow defile;—however there was no alternative. I took every precaution to prevent a surprise, and the old marine vowed that with life alone would he give up his charge; we thus at last succeeded in reaching the highest opposite point of the mountain, where it opens on a view of the rich plain of Damascus, to which the road descends by a zigzag path of the most difficult and impracticable nature.

Leaving the troop behind the crest of the hill, with directions to Gardiner to keep a bright look out, I dismounted, cautiously stole down under cover of the rocks, and with the aid of my telescope, endeavoured to get a sight of the Egyptian army which we supposed to be in the neighbourhood of the village of Zébédéni, lying immediately at our feet;—whilst I was thus cautiously

making my observations, but without getting a glimpse of the enemy, a sudden alarm, with the trampling of horse, and the cry of "El Musree" (the Egyptians) made me apprehend that the party had been surprised, when hastening back, and vaulting into the saddle, I found my gallant troops in a state of no slight confusion, caused by the appearance of a small body of men winding up the mountain pass before us. Both parties evidently appeared undecided, whether to make a stand or to take to their heels—however, drawing my "toledo," by dint of entreaties, and a threat to cut down the first who shewed a disposition to "bolt," I determined to see what our supposed enemy was made of; endeavour to capture one or two of the gentlemen who might give us some useful information; and only run for it in case of their being too strong. With this intention, after placing my troop under cover of some rocks, with a bit of level ground in front, I again put them under the charge of my staunch old standard-bearer, and cautiously advanced to the front. No

sooner did the opposite party—who by this time had gained the summit of the pass,—distinctly see my uniform, than they with many expressions of joy rushed forward, declaring themselves to be Syrian deserters from the Egyptian army, who, taking advantage of the retreat, had been enabled to effect their escape, and hoped shortly to revisit their homes—they also informed us that Ibrahim Pasha with his rear-guard had abandoned Zébédéni the previous day, and that not an Egyptian soldier was left behind.

Determined however to verify with my own eyes this statement, I gave the word to move forward; but such was the dread entertained by my people of the very name of the redoubted Ibrahim, that one and all absolutely refused to proceed a step further; when after consigning them to the lowest depths of "Jéhānum,"* for a set of arrant cowards, Gardiner and myself rapidly pushing on, soon reached the bottom of the pass, and in half an hour entered the considerable village of Zébédéni,

* A place quite opposite to the Paradise of Mahomet.

when, surrounded by nearly all its inhabitants, we went to the Sheikh's house, who confirmed the news given lately by the deserters. It was getting late, therefore, losing no time in remounting our horses, we retraced our steps alone, and did not get back to Mālachah till past midnight.

The Emir Beschir, alarmed at our prolonged absence, had sent out a party in search of us, who returned while I was taking a very acceptable supper, after so long a ride.' Colonel Bridgeman had been back several hours, having fallen in with a body of about four hundred deserters, under a noted chief called Sibli Ariāni, whom he conducted amidst great demonstrations of joy to the head-quarters of the Emir.

From what I had observed of the difficulty of the road which Ibrahim had followed through the Anti-Libanus two days before, —more particularly at the pass leading from the mountain to Zébédéni,—I am convinced that five hundred determined men might, if not have stopped his whole force, at least have destroyed a great part of it,

and captured all his guns and baggage, the former of which must have been carried on camels during this descent. But from want of sufficient information, and the adoption of active measures, he had been suffered to slip through our fingers, without the loss of a man or a single round of ammunition!

The great fault the Turks appear to me to have committed, at this period of the campaign, was in not following the Commodore's suggestion of attacking Ibrahim at Zāchlé, immediately after his defeat at Boharsef. A dashing reconnoissance made on the former position some time before by Captain Laué, had fully proved it not to be a tenable military post, and my own observations on the spot now confirmed the Prussian officer's remark. Zāchlé is a large village, built in a complete "cul-de-sac," formed by the surrounding hills, and an attack from thence would, in all probability, have thrown the whole Egyptian force into irretrievable confusion.

Again, supposing the Turks could not muster courage enough for such an undertaking, although it would scarcely have

been safe with his large force of cavalry, to have followed him across the extensive plain of the Boccāh, still, detached parties might have crossed the "Séhél," at different points, during the night, and by taking possession of the defiles, and cutting off their supplies on the part of Damascus, have placed the Egyptians in an extremely embarrassing situation, have rendered so prolonged a stay at Zāchlé and Mālāchah impossible, and might have opposed a very serious obstacle to their escape from the accumulated difficulties, then and there besetting them.

But a month of the most precious time, was allowed to elapse, after the Commodore had resigned the command, in waiting for reinforcements from England, and *organizing* the Turks at Beyrout, — during which period, not a Turkish soldier was in the Mountain, not an officer sent on a reconnoissance; the Emir Beschir was left without either advice, money, or provisions many of his troops returned from sheer

starvation,) to their homes,—and when Colonel Bridgeman and myself at last brought an account of the retreat to Damascus, it was too late to remedy the evils which had preceded, and which followed this movement, viz.: the plunder of that city, the forcible removal of thousands of Syrians in the Egyptian army, who, had that army been only *delayed* in the passes of the Anti-Libanus, would, to a man, have had opportunities of deserting, of which there is no doubt but they would gladly have availed themselves. And, to wind up this series of most extraordinary measures, or rather, want of any measures at all, the Commodore's Convention, affording a safeguard to Ibrahim as far as the coast, was rejected, and the latter commenced that disastrous retreat when such mischief occurred to the country through which he forced his way; so many of his own soldiers fell victims to starvation, cold, and misery; and so much blood was spilled by the hordes of Arabs who continually hovered around

his retiring columns, and who, whenever any of their number fell into his hands, were inexorably put to death.

* * * *

Next morning, the 25th of November, anxious to pay a visit to Zāchlé, and the Tomb of Noah, at the neighbouring village of Kérāk, I was early on foot, and accompanied by Giorgio, found the former place to be a considerable town, the see of a bishop, and containing, it was said, nearly ten thousand inhabitants, mostly Greek Catholics.

The river Berdoun, taking its rise a short distance above Zāchlé, runs past Mālāchah, —turning, in its course, several water-mills, —and winding through banks picturesquely clothed with Italian poplars,—at last loses itself in the larger stream of the Létani.

About a mile from Mālāchah to the northward, at the foot of Mount Lebanon, stands the small village of Kérāk, where is shewn what is called Noah's Tomb, but which presents more the appearance of the ruins of an old aqueduct, covered in with a

square building, at one extremity of which stands a dome. However, as it is implicitly believed that the "Nubbee," the Prophet or Patriarch of old, rests his bones at this favoured spot, we obtained admission to the interior of the sanctuary, where a raised slab of masonry covered with drapery is pointed out as his real sepulchre; although this is about one hundred feet in length, our cicerone gravely averred that such was the gigantic height of the old gentleman, that, for want of room, he at this minute lies with his legs doubled up under him; and accounted for this uncomfortable position, in which he has so long remained, by saying that God, as an especial mark of his favour, had promised that after death he should be buried on Mount Lebanon; but that Noah, some time previous to that event, having committed a venial offence, the Almighty, as a punishment, took away a part of the tomb destined to receive his body, and thereby rendered it too short to enable him to lie in an easy posture, at full length!

I was delayed some time, taking a sketch

of the tomb, and on my return to Mālachah, found that Colonel Bridgeman had already left for Beyrout, but both my old Marine, and his horse, were too much done up by the fatigues of the previous day, to be able to move; therefore, starting alone, I left them under the care of Giorgio, to follow whenever they might be able,—which was not for two or three days;—but, alas! poor old Gardiner was not doomed to recount to his shipmates how he had carried the British colours into the plain of Damascus: on his return to Beyrout, an attack of fever obliged him to go to the hospital, from whence he never came out alive.

* * * *

Although it was now ascertained that Ibrahim had retired on Damascus, his future plans were still unknown; for, whilst some reports said that he intended to winter in that city, others averred, that he was merely concentrating his troops to commence an immediate retreat towards the Egyptian frontiers. During a whole fortnight, things remained in this state of uncertainty at

Beyrout, and when the gale on the 2nd of December drove the ships off that port, this uncertainty increased to a very considerable degree of apprehension. Ibrahim, through various channels, received constant and correct intelligence of every occurrence that took place there;—this intelligence could reach him in twenty-four hours, and a forced march of three or four days, would have brought him under the walls of Beyrout, with the greater part of his forces, amounting to 50,000 men—30,000 of whom were then effective.*

Whilst things were in this state, I, on the 12th of December, received from Sir Charles Smith, written instructions, to the following effect:—

"That I was, in the first instance, to proceed to the head-quarters of the Emir Beschir, with certain communications, and then to go, without loss of time, to Naplouse; that Selim Pacha would have orders notifying my official employment within his Pashalic;

* Vide Napier's "War in Syria," vol. ii. p. 99.

and requiring him to attend to any requisitions I might make, (with the exception of troops,) on the garrison of Acre.

"Having arrived at Naplouse, I was to order Souliman Abdul Hadi, the Governor of that place, to levy 1500 men within his district, and with these I was to do my best to guard the passes Agiloun, Djebail Khalil (Hebron,) or Khan Younus;* directing my movements according to the intelligence I should receive of the enemy.

"I was further instructed to investigate and inquire into the conduct of the said Governor of Naplouse, he being suspected of adhering to the Egyptian interests; and to ascertain whether there was any foundation for the numerous complaints preferred against him from different quarters."

A severe indisposition prevented me from starting till the 14th, and on the day previous to my departure, the officers who had been so long expected from England,

* The latter, by-the-bye, being no pass at all, but an open place in the plains to the eastward of Gaza.

arrived by the Hecate,* and Sir Charles Smith was replaced in the command by Brigadier-General Michell, but with more limited powers than possessed by his predecessor.

The following is a sort of half-letter, half-journal, addressed to Lady Napier, and giving an account of my progress as far as Acre, where I was on my way to communicate my instructions, and concert measures with Selim Pasha, the Turkish Commandant.

* Brigadier-General Michell, Col. Rose, Lieut.-Col. Colquhoun, Lieut.-Col. Aldersor, Majors Scott, Harvey and Robe, Lieut. Ross, Royal Artillery; Lieut. Symonds, Royal Engineers;—Majors Churchill, Herman, and Freestun, formerly of the Spanish service, came out with local rank. Major M'Niven, H.P. unattached, arrived some time after, from Marmorice Bay.

The above, with Major Higgins, R.A, the Author, Lieut. Aldrich of the Engineers, and Lieut. Rowan of the Royal Artillery, constituted the British Staff, in Syria.

To this number must be added Capt. Arbuthnot, R.N., and Captain Boccochampi, H.P.; the former, under his Spanish title of *Brigadier-General*, held a very undefined position; but his principal duty appeared to consist in drawing the very excellent allowances provided for him by the Foreign Office and the Admiralty.

JOURNAL FROM BEYROUT, 14TH DEC. 1840.

"14*th December*. Two o'clock in the morning, or rather night. Rouse up, and turn out all hands; my Dragoman Giorgio, a couple of Arab servants, five horses, baggage, &c.; after a great deal of difficulty, got them to put the tent and baggage in order, and at last, after three hours' work, started them off, out of the gates of Beyrout. Having effected this, we next, under the auspices of the lady of the house, and her pretty and amiable daughters, partook of a farewell pipe and cup of coffee; and shortly after daylight, with a parting embrace from the whole family, at last fairly got under weigh, not without a feeling of real pain, at taking leave of people, who, during my residence under their roof, shewed me the only kindness I had yet experienced in a strange land. Accompanied by Assade Kyaat, I travelled on for a couple of hours, until we reached the hills, shortly after entering which, we found my baggage in a shocking dilemma; the ponies I had

purchased to carry my tent and baggage, not being equal to the load, had broken down at the very first ascent, and when we arrived there, we found one animal on the ground, and another rolling head over heels, down the acclivity. This was a very bad beginning; but as there was no time for delay, telling Giorgio to start off in quest of fresh cattle, we left them to get out of their difficulties in the best way they were able, and proceeded forthwith on our route. Ascending the barren and rocky heights of this part of Lebanon, we soon reached the high ridge overlooking the valley of Hāmānah, and as the plague was raging at that village, we took a wide sweep to the right, and at last attained the region of snow;—what a contrast now presented itself to our view! the date-tree, the cactus, and other productions of the tropics flourished luxuriantly in the plains below, from whose verdant and smiling aspect we had, in the short space of three hours, been transported to the bleak climate and ermine clothing of the Polar regions! On gaining these upper heights,

we had now, often with danger and difficulty, to make our way over rocks and crags, concealed under a deep coating of snow, through which, in many places, particularly in the hollows, where it had greatly accumulated, our horses floundered on with difficulty; and at last, about twelve o'clock, we reached a lonely Khān or Caravanserai, for the reception of travellers, where we were fain to sound a halt; nor was I sorry at being able to obtain a little rest, for having, during the last few days, suffered from a severe indisposition, I had in the morning taken such a potent dose of laudanum, that I could scarcely keep awake in my saddle, and felt glad at having an opportunity of getting an hour's repose, which time I past rolled up in my cloak, and in a delicious slumber. 'Assade Kyaat delayed waking me rather too long, and we were, therefore, late in starting, in consequence of which, shortly after we commenced our descent on the eastern side of Lebanon, darkness overtook us;—here was a pretty dilemma;—as the obscurity increased, the track became less and less visible, the snow had augmented

in depth, and the howling of the jackals, to one unaccustomed to their melodious voices, would have been rather appalling; but they were old acquaintances of mine; and the darkness proved our greatest enemy, causing us at last to lose completely our track; and now we were wandering without light, guide, or direction, amidst terrific precipices and torrents, where one false step would have sent us to eternity. By good fortune, we at last hit upon a faint goat-path, following which, we arrived at a noble old castle we knew to be immediately above the position occupied by the Emir Beschir. At this point, being gladdened by the sight of lights, we hailed them most vociferously, and in a short time, a peasant came to our assistance, and conducted us to the abode of the Grand Prince, from whom I met with the most gracious reception. It would be too long to enter into all the particulars of our interview, which was mostly of a political nature.

* * * * *

"15*th December*.—The first thing in the morning I was surprised by the arrival of

Giorgio, and the baggage; he having travelled all night. I received here the intelligence of the death of my poor Squire, Gardiner, who had so gallantly accompanied me in my previous expedition across the Anti-Libanus. It being requisite to give Giorgio and the horses a little rest, I therefore remained during the day at Kabaliés, examining some curious old sculptures in the rocks, and the ancient castle before-mentioned, supposed to have been constructed by the Crusaders, but which has been much injured by the troops of Ibrahim Pasha. The Emir Beschir treated us like princes, and we turned in, well satisfied with our reception,—and intending to make an early start in the morning,—took my leave, after having received instructions from his Highness to stop Ibrahim and his army, 20,000 or 30,000 strong, with the 1,500 men I was to raise in the Naplouse district!

"16*th*.—Up early; take leave of the Emir—start off with an escort of a couple of Mountaineers and a Druse Chief named Sheikh Ahmed—go through the plain of the

Boccăh and arrive in six hours at the village of *El Kărăoun*, the Sheikh of which is a Mahomedan—go out to shoot with his son, and rise considerably in the estimation of the natives by a remarkable shot, knocking over a partridge at a long distance with a single ball. I had a large assembly at my quarters this evening, and gave all my Mahomedan friends, grog; assuring them it was only *physic*,—and am now preparing to turn in, being rather tired, after travelling, shooting, *doctoring*, and writing,—therefore adieu.

"17*th December*.—The above was composed after dismissing my levee, and whilst the capital mountain wine had rather taken effect, therefore I cannot answer for having written very coherently. The old Sheikh was a picture of a scriptural patriarch—standing nearly six feet two inches, with a fine white beard, and about fifty-seven years of age. Our party was a most motley assemblage of different races and religions:—the Sheikh was a Mahomedan; myself, a heretic; Giorgio of the Greek persuasion;

Ahmed, the chief of our escort, a Druse ;—there were besides a couple of Maronites, a Mutuali (Mahomedan of the sect of Ali), a Greek Syrian priest, who supplied us with some capital wine ;—and yet we were all on the best terms in the world, each dipping his fingers in the same dish of rice ; and the old Sheikh, whilst he related having seen Bonaparte and Sir Sidney Smith at Acre, shewed his affection for me by tearing up with his dirty fingers the boiled fowl before us, and placing the most choice pieces at my disposal ; however it was no time to be nice, we had no reason to complain, and fared sumptuously in the Arab acceptation of the term.

* * * * * *

"I am now writing this with an assembly of Mutualis round me, having arrived after a long march of nine hours at the village of Nābādié, and, in the house of the Sheikh or Chief, am very comfortably seated near a good fire at the post of honour, and scribbling away whilst they are getting something for us to eat ;—they are all smoking

around me, and a wilder group could scarcely be imagined. I am myself rather a curious figure—a red woollen nightcap, unshaved, huge mustachios, a face the colour of mahogany, an old torn red jacket, trowsers calashed with black leather, a huge cavalry sword by my side, with a pistol and dagger in my belt, your blue scarf girded round my loins;—such is my travelling costume. To-morrow we expect to reach Soor (the ancient Tyre), and the birthplace of navigation.

"To-day I passed through a very beautiful wild country, and fell in with some remarkable ruins of antiquity in the shape of excavations—but I must cry halt, as I smell the dinner, and have had nothing for twelve hours,—therefore *adios*.

"18*th December*.—Arrived at Soor after a long march. My interpreter, Giorgio, has some relations here, at whose house we put up, and enjoyed the comforts of civilized life after the roughing we had had in the mountains, where, however, I experienced from all sects the extreme of hospitality. Giorgio's relation is doing the duty of American

consul here, but does not speak a word of English; he gave us a capital dinner, and afterwards introduced us to his wife, a beautiful young woman, who complained of ill health, and applied to me;—after feeling her pulse, and asking a few questions, I found what was the matter, gave her a small quantity of Epsom salts, and dividing it into a number of doses, with a great deal of good advice, promised her a speedy cure, and told her it would be a fine boy, with which assurance she remained perfectly satisfied.

"19*th*.—Strolled out in the morning, and saw many remains of antiquity—poor Giorgio is very unwell—doctoring him—late before we get off; and in about five hours, from a hill on the coast, came in sight of Acre and Mount Carmel. I resolved to push on and leave my baggage to follow as it best might; so whilst my led horse, which I intended to ride on the occasion, was taking a feed of barley, I halted my little caravan on the flowery banks of a stream, and as I took a long draught of its clear water, could

not help thinking of Moore's lines in the "Paradise and the Peri."

> "She saw a wearied man dismount
> From his hot steed, and on the brink
> Of a small imaret's rustic fount
> Impatient fling him down to drink."

"Mounting my little grey charger (called Sidon), I cantered over the beautiful plains of Sharon (thickly covered with bright red anemones), for ten or twelve miles until I reached Acre, where I delivered my despatches. Met a party of our officers from Beyrout, and was much astonished to hear that Sir Charles Smith had been superseded by General Michell, and had returned to Gibraltar. I have not been able to get to sleep, and am now seated on a mattrass in a large apartment of Djezzar's palace, and scribbling on my sabre-tâche, spending the still hours of the night in holding converse with my best friend. I shall try and get off to Naplouse as soon as possible, and ere I close this shall be able to let you know when I start. I forgot to mention that one of my

travelling equipments consists of a large linen bag, in which I shut myself up every night, and find this the only protection against the myriads of fleas and other vermin. This long stave must be "pro bono publico" —remember me to all, and adieu for the present.

"*20th.*—I have just had an interview with Selim Pasha, the Governor of Acre, and I start to-morrow for Naplouse, to endeavour to rouse the Mountaineers, and do my best to harass Ibrahim Pasha. My mission is, I suspect, likely yet to turn out more diplomatic than warlike.

* * * * * *

"This place is still in a horrid state—a complete heap of ruins.

"E. N."

14*th December.*—Having lost our way in descending the eastern face of the Lebanon, in consequence of being overtaken by darkness, it was not till a late hour that we reached Kabaliés, a village resting on the

side of the mountain, close to the plain of Boccāh, and near the point where the road from Beyrout to Damascus *débouches* into the plain. In anticipation of some forward movements on the part of the Turks, the Emir Beschir had here concentrated his forces. He received me most affably, and on acquainting him with the nature of my mission and delivering the despatches intended for himself, it was resolved to postpone till the morrow his final suggestions as to the steps I was to pursue,—I being directed to attend to any advice he might give as to my further movements,—in other respects to "follow the guidance of my own military judgment;" and I was further to avoid incurring any degree of responsibility in a financial point of view.

The next morning, having duly explained the object of my mission to Naplouse, I, according to my orders, requested his written suggestions as to the most advisable course to pursue;—and the following, which will enable the reader to form an idea of the military talents of the good old Prince, after

being duly concocted were put into my hand, and translated by my Syrian friend Assadé el Kyaat, who had accompanied me thus far on my journey:—

"INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE EMIR BESCHIR.

"It would be necessary that the fifteen hundred men who have to stop the road against Ibrahim Pasha should be in Khan Younés, which is near the Salt sea, in order to prevent the enemy from passing, and it is necessary that the said troops should have with them cannons, for the ground is sandy and plain; a place where all the roads meet. And as there will be no other road except through the desert to Akabah which is scarce in water, it is not likely that numerous men can pass it,—this is what we know. For those who go behind Ajloon, and behind Mount Khalil, (Hebron), they must pass the Khan Younés, the above mentioned. Therefore this place is the union of roads, whether the roads we mentioned go through the midst

of the country, which is the road of Mount Khalil, or others.

"This, which we have seen fit, we have explained.

(Signed) "Beschir Cassim Shelab."

It was in vain that I represented the futility of such an attempt with a handful of undisciplined mountaineers, in the open plain where Khan Younés is situated, to the south of Gaza, and moreover at some distance from the coast; and that I tried to prove to the Emir my only chance of being of the least use was to occupy any mountain passes the enemy might have occasion to traverse. The old man was obstinate; therefore, finding it of no avail to argue the point, I pretended entire acquiescence, put his instructions into my pocket, with the full determination of following my own ideas on the subject, and then strolled out into the camp to look around me, as it was impossible to get forward that day; Giorgio, with my followers and baggage,

requiring a few hours rest, after having been wandering about all night in the snow of the mountains. *

I was anxious to behold by day the castle we had so unexpectedly stumbled on in the dark the night before, but Assade informed me that a short distance down the plain, on the face of the mountain, were to be seen some very old sculptures,—I accordingly repaired thither, and found a few gigantic figures carved in basso relievo out of the solid rock, very similar to those at the pass of the Nāhar-é-Khelb, but placed in recesses, which forcibly recalled to mind the entrances to some of the smaller caves at Ellora. They appeared to be of high antiquity, and answered the description given of similar works at Petra, with which they may perhaps have a common origin.

* In crossing the mountains during the winter season, the *Moukres* or Muleteers are said to employ rather an ingenious device, to enable their animals to pass over those parts of the roads where the snow has accumulated, without sinking into it. This consists in spreading their rugs and carpets, and thus forming a bridge by which their weight is supported.

We next bent our footsteps towards the old castle, which we reached after toiling up a considerable ascent, and found it evidently—from its solid construction, gothic arches, and the general style of architecture—to be an ancient ruin of the time of the Crusaders; of whom, strange to say—although so many monuments remain to this day—the name in Syria is now quite forgotten; it is true that vague traditions still exist of the country having, at some remote period, been inhabited by the Franks; but who those Franks were, what was the object of their visit, or cause of their departure, remains a complete mystery!

The old "Bourdge" or castle, though it had suffered severe ill-treatment from Ibrahim's troops, was still in a tolerable state of preservation, and, from its commanding situation, would have constituted a strong military position, in the defence of the pass leading from the plain towards Beyrout.

The view from this point, embracing, as it did, the whole extent of the Anti-Libanus, with the snowy summits of the Djebail

Sheikh—the plain below—now dotted over with numerous bands of armed peasantry, whilst bodies of cavalry, having from this height a most pigmy appearance, were wildly careering o'er the level space beneath, where they were displaying all the varieties of wild Arab horsemanship;—the mud-terraced roofs of the village below, on which, lazily basking in the winter sun, might be seen warlike groups of Mountaineers, or the "horned" shapes of the women, engaged in their domestic avocations—all these presented objects of so novel and interesting a nature, as to rivet us long to the spot from whence we were contemplating them.

On entering the plain of the Boccāh, I observed a great difference in the construction of the houses of the peasantry, from those on Mount Lebanon; the latter being all solidly built of stone, whilst those at Kābāliés were of mud, with terraces of the same material supported on wooden rafters, and when placed on the steep declivity of the Mountain, the roof of one abode formed,

not unfrequently, the thoroughfare leading to the entrance of the habitation immediately above it.

On our way back to the Prince's residence, we beat up the quarters of an old Emir, with whose family, residing at El-Hâded, in the neighbourhood of Beyrout, I had been very intimate during my sojourn at the latter place. We found the old Emir Solymân Shéhâb, — of the family of the Grand Prince,—a fine specimen of the Mountain aristocracy.

Amidst the numerous victims to the cruelty of the late Emir Beschir, he had, some years since, been seized and condemned by that sanguinary tyrant to be blinded by the application of a hot iron to his eyes, but after remaining a couple of years deprived of sight, he at last gradually recovered the use of one organ of vision; and though his handsome and strongly-marked countenance is rather disfigured by the complete destruction of the remaining one, still his long flowing snow-white

beard, and commanding stature, give him a truly venerable and patriarchal appearance.

He was accompanied by his second son, and all his followers; and although now meeting him for the first time, as he was aware of the interest I took in his family, and of the exertions I had made to obtain the liberation of his eldest son Joussuf, (who had, some time before, together with several other Emirs and Sheikhs of the Mountain, been kidnapped by Ibrahim Pasha, and sent to Alexandria, from whence Mehemet Ali had caused them to be conveyed in irons, to the gold mines in Sennaar,) he received me as an old friend, and, after a cordial embrace, overwhelmed me with all the high-flown compliments of the East.

The Emir Solyman of El Hāded, is, I believe, the only member of the Shéhāb family still professing Mahomedanism, and with a feeling of consistency which he cannot be blamed for, although strenuously refusing to abandon the religion in which he

was born and bred, he has, at the instigation of his wife, who is a Christian, allowed their children to be brought up in the latter creed.*

* * * *

The following morning, the 16th of December, Giorgio, myself and baggage, escorted by a few horsemen, under the command of a Druse Sheik, left Kābāliés, and keeping for about thirty miles, in a southerly direction, along the plain of the Boccāh, entered, the following day, into the Mutuali portion of the range of Lebanon, at a point where the plain,—which had gradually closed in between the approaching ranges of oppo-

* During the disturbances which took place in the Mountain, in the autumn of 1841, between the Maronites and Druses, the latter burned the village of El Hāded, and plundered the "Dhair," or palace of the Emir Solyman, on which occasion his eldest daughter, the Princess Zuleïka Shehāb, is said to have proved herself a real Amazon, by gallantly defending, sword in hand, her father's threshold, until the family had escaped with their most valuable property; when, vaulting on her horse, she succeeded in rejoining her friends, to the admiration even of the rude barbarians from whom she had thus succeeded in rescuing property to a large amount, together with many valuable family documents.

site mountains, and shortly after the junction of a torrent, called the Musghérah with the Létāni,—assumes the character of a narrow defile, barely leaving room for the latter river to brush through its now precipitous and rocky channel. The whole of the maps I have hitherto seen of Syria, fail to represent these features of ground, so strongly marking the southern extremity of the Séhél-é-Boccāh, which at this season of the year presented rather a bare, unpromising appearance, in consequence of all the crops being off the ground, and the entire absence of trees and habitations; it, however, still retains its ancient reputation for fertility, and is, to this day, considered as the never-failing granary of the mountains.

For the sake of security, all the villages,—with the sole exception of a small hamlet, named Tul-é-Zoub,—are placed on the declivity of the Lebanon and Anti-Libanus, from whence the inhabitants descend to gather in their harvests at the reaping season.

Great numbers of these villages were to be seen thus perched up aloft, out of the

reach of the roving sons of the desert, or of more immediate hostile tribes. On the western side of the valley, between Kābāliés and the Musghérah, I counted no less than ten, and reckoned six on the side of the Anti-Libanus. I ascertained the names of the former to be Kābaliés, Kāliet-el-Médeik, Ameek, Anā, Kafria, El Kirb, El Hābs, Aberian, Ait-é-Nité, Aitāni. The latter were Tul-é-Dhair, Jib Jāneen, (near which passes a road leading to Damascus,) Leila, Bāloul, El Kārouān, and Sāchmoor. *

A few yards from the southern bank of

* Burckhardt's list of villages, to the south of Zāchlé, on the western declivity of the Plain, is as follows :—Sāad, Nāyel, Tālābāyā, Djetza, Bouarish, Meksa, Kāb Elias, Mezrāat, Bemherya, Aamyk, Deir Tenhadish, Keferya, Kheryet Kena, Beit Far, Ain Zebde, Segbin, Dair-el-Djouze, Bab Mara, Aitenyt, El Kergone, El Medjdel, Belhysz, Lala, Meshgara, Sahhar Wyhhar, Shedite, Nebs Zaoul, Baaloul, Bedjat, Djub Djenin, Tel Danoub, El Khyara, El Djezyre, El Estabbel, El Merdjz, Tel-el-Akhdar, Taanayl, Bar Elias, and Dair Zenoun.

This long list probably includes other villages, situated further in the hills, and which that enterprizing traveller had probably more time to visit than fell to the author's share.

the torrent of the Musghérah, which the road here crosses, I perceived three low openings, cut in the face of the rocks, and on dismounting, found them to afford ingress to some very remarkable caves, whose existence I do not find mentioned by any previous traveller. The entrance to these sites of, probably, some ancient religious worship, was low, and on the exterior elaborately ornamented with the twisted snake, somewhat in the shape of the Caduceus of Mercury, whilst the sides of the interior space, cut into the form of a cross, were decorated with leaves and branches chiselled in relievo, in a most elaborate and masterly style.

Shortly after leaving these curious specimens of antiquity, the road struck into the Djébel Druse, a part of the Lebanon varying greatly in appearance from those features the Mountain presents in the more northern districts. The summits of the hills were here covered with the evergreen or prickly oak; whilst wild myrtle, and many varieties of heaths, decked their sides, and the valleys

through which flowed clear gurgling streams, amidst thickets of flowering oleander, now in the full bloom of its roseate blossoms,—the whole scene forcibly reminding me of the Lower Sierras of Andalusia, in the vicinity of Gibraltar. From one elevated point, commanding a great extent of mountainous country, we obtained a beautiful sight of the Lake of Houle, situated many miles to the southward.

This romantic looking country continued for about eighteen miles from the Masgórah; when, after crossing a valley, called the Wād-é-Jemoyïah (or of the meeting of the waters,) we entered the Mutuali country, which bore a totally different appearance; the abrupt and wooded declivities had entirely disappeared, and were now succeeded by ground of an undulating nature, occasionally covered with olive plantations, but which appeared to be more generally appropriated to the cultivation of tobacco.

Our halting-place on that day, (the 17th of December,) was at the considerable village of Nābātié. I here met with the aide-

de-camp of General Jochmus, a Captain de L'Or, who was going on a reconnoissance towards Damascus; and from him first received the intelligence that Jochmus had been appointed Seraskier or Commander-in-Chief of the Turkish army in Syria; and that active operations were immediately to take place.

This was the first village we had yet visited exclusively occupied by the Mutuali race; and although our reception was perhaps, not quite so cordial as we had hitherto met with, still we experienced no lack of hospitality; but though the Sheikh El Bellud, (the head man of the place,) Fādl-Hassān-Sahābi, feasted us to the best of his abilities, I observed that these people carefully abstained from either eating with us, or in any way partaking of our meals, such intimacy being against the established tenets of their religion.

On the 18th, we went through a country greatly resembling in character what has been last described, and on our way through a portion of it,—bearing the strange name of

Wād-é-Jéhannum, (or Valley of Hell,)—we, for the first time, fell in with an encampment of wandering Bedouins; who, during the winter season, leaving the higher ground near the Lake of Houle, to avoid the severity of the weather, pitch their camps in these comparatively mild and level districts.

On approaching the small black camel, or goat-hair tents of this remarkable people, we could not fail to be struck with their uncouth and wild appearance. The men were small, spare, and sinewy, giving the idea of great powers of endurance and activity; but both they and their mates were of so deeply bronzed a hue, as to approach within a very few shades of black—thereby presenting a marked contrast to the fair, and ruddy, though sunburnt complexion of the inhabitants of Lebanon. The women were tattooed over the face, arms, hands, and breast, with various figures traced in blue;—whilst their lips, deeply stained with the same colour, presented any thing but an inviting appearance; their eyes were, however, fine,

large, and full of fire; most of them were unveiled, clothed in scanty garments, and their long, dark, matted hair, and unwashed persons, presented an appearance of the greatest want of cleanliness, or more properly speaking, of the greatest possible degree of filth. The interior of the tents appeared to be partitioned off by compartments or skreens, made of upright reeds fastened together, one of which, in each tent, was appropriated to the women, who, on our approach, cordially offered us their simple fare of "Khobs" and "Leben," (cakes baked on the cinders, and sour goats' milk,) which, after a long and fatiguing ride, proved most acceptable, and were thankfully received.

The following extract from Volney* gives the best description that I have met with regarding this remarkable race; many of whose customs strongly reminded me of the Brinjaries of India, and the roving hordes of Turcomans sometimes met with in Asia Minor.

"I have already remarked that the Arab

* Volney's Travels, page 203.

Bedouins are divided into tribes, each constituting a separate people. Every one of these appropriates to its own use a certain extent of territory which forms its domain; in this they only differ from agricultural nations, in as much as it is requisite for its limits to be more extended, in order to afford subsistence to their flocks during the whole year. Each tribe is composed of one or several camps, scattered over the country which they range through, as the pasture becomes exhausted by their flocks; hence, large tracts of land are only inhabited at particular spots, which vary every succeeding day; but, as the whole of this extent is requisite for the annual subsistence of the tribe, whoever encroaches thereon is considered guilty of an invasion of property; and in this respect they differ not from the established right of nations. Therefore, should one tribe or its subjects transgress on a foreign territory, they are immediately treated as robbers and enemies, and this gives rise to hostilities; but as alliances by treaty or blood exist among several tribes—leagues

are thence formed, which render these wars more or less general, according to circumstances.

"The plan of operations in this case is very simple; as soon as an injury of such a nature has been committed, every man is in his saddle in quest of the foe, on meeting with whom a parley generally takes place; sometimes with peaceable results; if not, groups of single horsemen attack each other, charging at full speed and spear in rest—though the latter, notwithstanding its great length, is sometimes cast after the flying foe.

"Victory is seldom much contested, being generally decided at the first onset; the vanquished escaping at full speed over the vast plains of the desert. The tribe which has been beaten strikes its tents, makes a forced march, and seeks an asylum amongst its allies. But from the casualties occurring in these skirmishes, motives of hatred remain which perpetuate feuds and resentment.

"Common interest and security have long since established amongst the Arabs a gene-

ral law, which exacts that every life taken away should be avenged by spilling the blood of the homicide; this is called the *tar* or *talion:* and this duty devolves on the nearest relation of the deceased, who takes every opportunity of seeking his revenge; which is not, however, satisfied with the accidental death of his enemy—as in that case it is to fall on *his* nearest relative.

"These feuds are transmitted as heir-looms from father to son, and only cease with the extinction of a whole race, unless the opposed tribes come to an agreement of sacrificing the culprit—or *of paying the price of blood* by a certain sum of money, or so many flocks;—without this satisfaction, no peace, truce, or alliance, can subsist between them or their respective allies. The saying *There is blood between us* proves an insurmountable obstacle to all reconciliation.

"By the continual occurrence of these events, most of the tribes are encumbered with feuds and quarrels, whence they are forced to live in a constant state of warfare;

which circumstance, united with their general mode of existence, has constituted the Bedouins a completely military race,—without, however, causing them to acquire any knowledge of the art of war.

* * * * * *

"Every tribe is composed of one or several leading families, the members of which bear the name of Sheikhs; these families may be said to represent the Patricians of Rome, or the nobility of Europe. One of these Sheikhs commands the others, and is the general of this small army. Sometimes he assumes the title of Emir, meaning Prince or Chief, and is considered powerful in proportion to the greater or less number of his allies, children and relatives,—to these he adds followers whom he attaches immediately to his person by providing for all their wants; besides which several less influential families, not sufficiently powerful to maintain their independence, are glad to range themselves under his banner, in order to ensure a useful alliance and protection.

"Such an assemblage is denominated

Kābileh * or *Tribe*, and these tribes are distinguished from each other by the names of their respective chiefs or leading families. In speaking generally of the individuals of a tribe, they are called the *children* of so and so, — although not really of his blood, and that the person of that name may have moreover been long since deceased. Thus they say *Beni Témin—Wālud Taï*, the children of Temin and Tai. This metaphorical mode of expression has ever been transmitted to the appellation of countries, whose inhabitants are called the children of such a place. Thus the Arabs would say Wālud-é-Musr, for the Egyptians—Wālud-é-Sham for the Syrians, and might call the French and Russians Wālud-é-Fransa and Wālud-é-Moskou—a circumstance of some importance in its relation to ancient history.†

* * * *

* In Arabic قبيله the plural of which is قبايل "Khubāeel."

† This is evidently a remains of Scriptural and Patriarchal customs, the Jews being generally called in the books of Moses the *children of Israel* (or Jacob.) Some parts of the Bedouin's dress, particularly that

"The most primitive and patriarchal customs are still observable amongst this race. The powerful Sheikh who commands a large tribe will feed and saddle his own horse, whilst his daughters at the evening hour, like Rebekah of old, may be seen with the pitcher on their shoulder, proceeding to the neighbouring *bir* or well, and with their own hands,—often none of the cleanest,—they will knead the unleavened paste into cakes, wherewith to appease the hunger of the weary way-worn traveller; for the Bedouin is hospitable to a proverb; once cross the doorway of his tent, and partake of his frugal meal, he is your sworn and unalterable friend, ready to defend you in every peril and from every danger.

of the women, forcibly remind one likewise of the descriptions in the book of Genesis, for instance, at chap. xxiv. ver. 47, we find,—"And I put the ear-ring upon her face, and the bracelets upon her hands."

The ring, meant here, evidently applies to the one inserted through the cartilage of the nose, an ornament frequently worn to this day by the Bedouin women, who are likewise fond of glass and metal bracelets or armlets;—and, for the "Bourkah" or veil, see Gen. xxiv. 65.

"These wild children of Ishmael appear to have fulfilled the prophecy pronounced against the founders of their race;* but, although amongst the Desert tribes in the boundless ocean of the Wilderness, their hand is literally against every man,—this enmity is converted into kindness as soon as the stranger throws himself on their protection, and claims the sacred rites of hospitality.

"Although outwardly professing the Mahomedan religion, the Bedouin is extremely tolerant in his opinions, and in short, looks with great indifference on every creed;† they do not, sometimes, even hesitate to affirm that the holy Prophet never meant to enforce, with respect to them, the observance of many of his precepts; for, say they: "How can we perform numerous ablutions, being, as we are, generally without water, even for the common purposes of life?"—"How can we bestow alms whilst we ourselves are beggars?"—"Why should we fast

* Gen. xvi. 12.

† Vide Niebuhr, vol. 3. p. 208.

in the Ramadan, since a few dates and a little camel's milk constitute our sole food during the whole year?" And it must be confessed that to all appearance the most learned Moullah would be much puzzled to confute such arguments."

After leaving our Bedouin friends in the "Valley of Hell," we proceeded for about two hours and a half in a westerly direction, when, on descending an abrupt and difficult pass,—which could be easily defended,—we found ourselves in the Wād-é-Seedi, once more on the banks of the Letāni, which discharges itself into the sea about a couple of miles further to the west, and having crossed the stream by a stone bridge a few hundred yards from its mouth, we found ourselves in the extensive plains of Soor, and about three miles from that city—the ancient Queen of the Seas,—"Tyre" the magnificent,—the "renowned city—the strong in the sea."—Ezek. xxvi. 17.

Our first steps in the "Holy Land," of which we had now entered the boundaries,

(Exodus xxiii. 31.)* bore testimony to the fulfilment of the prophecies; and desolation seemed spread around us, as we approached the spot which appeared "like cities that are not inhabited"—"like the top of a rock, and a place to spread nets upon." †

The bare level plain extending to the sea-shore, which runs between the Létâni and

* Also Josephus, B. i. chap. vi.

† Ezekiel, chap. xxvi. 7.—"For thus saith the Lord God: Behold I will bring upon Tyrus Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, a king of kings, from the north, with horses and with chariots, and with horsemen, and companies and much people.—12. And they shall make a spoil of thy riches, and make a prey of thy merchandize: and they shall break down thy walls and destroy thy pleasant houses: and they shall lay thy stones and thy timber and thy dust in the midst of the water."

Maundrell says:—"But when you come to it you find no similitude of that glory for which it was so renowned in ancient time.—(Ezek. chap. 26, 27, 28.)

* * * * *

"Its present inhabitants are only a few wretches harbouring themselves in the vaults, and subsisting chiefly upon fishing; who seem to be preserved in this place by Divine Providence, as a visible argument how God has fulfilled his word concerning Tyre: viz. That it should be as the top of a rock—a place for fishers to dry their nets on."

the Peninsula, on which now stands the small town of Sour, was broken on our left hand by the remains of an aqueduct, supposed to have been destroyed by Salmanazar, the King of Nineveh, (Josephus, b. ix. c. 14.) who unsuccessfully besieged Tyre about a century and a half before it was taken by Nebuchadnezzar, after a blockade of thirteen years, and so utterly destroyed that no vestiges remained of its "very stones and timbers;" the inhabitants withdrawing to, and rearing a new city upon a small island, situated at the distance of about half a mile from the former site, and separated from the main land by an arm of the sea, which was filled up and thus converted into a peninsula by Alexander the Great, the result of whose operations against the new Tyre, then a city of great importance, has been so oft recorded in history.

Tyre, however, once more risen from her ashes, became, under the Emperor Adrian, the metropolis of Phœnicia,—was during the Crusades a city of first rate importance,—was

besieged in vain by Saladin,* and retained by the Christians until the final overthrow of Acre; when, in 1291, its inhabitants, terrified by the fate of the latter place, embarked on board their vessels, and abandoned it to the Mahomedans, who reduced it to the wretched condition in which it has remained to the present day.

Maundrell, Volney, and several other authors adduce, in corroboration of the spot now occupied by the modern town having once been an island, that the soil of which the isthmus is formed, appears of a different nature from that of the main land and of the opposite extremity of the peninsula; such certainly is the case, and it appeared to me to be composed of successive deposits of accumulated sand—which is now thickly covered with *débris*, ruins, and broken pottery,—whilst the sand has drifted up to, and been suffered to remain in many places, within a few feet of the summit of the modern wall which encloses the city on the land side.

* See note at the end of this volume.

The present town may be about one mile in circumference, and has nothing remarkable to attract the attention of the traveller, unless it be an appearance of extreme wretchedness, and a few beautiful pillars of red syenite, lying partly buried in the ground, some of which I found to measure three feet in diameter, and twenty-seven feet in length, besides that portion of them which was concealed by the soil. Traces, though but faint ones, may also be seen, of the site of the old port, where of yore proudly rode those navies which carried civilization and commerce to the extremities of the known world — circumnavigating Africa, visiting the coasts of Britain, and founding colonies at Utica, Carthage, Cadiz, and Malaga.

Ruins of foundations of walls, constructed on prostrate pillars, of apparently still earlier date, were also visible on the sea-shore, along the southern face of the isthmus,—from amongst which I picked up several pieces of glass, whose invention is said (though it more probably belongs to Egypt) to have taken place here,—that useful article having

been first manufactured of sand brought from the mouth of the river Belus, which flows into the sea at the bay of Acre.

Besides the inventions of glass and of writing,—for which credit has been given to Cadmus,—Tyre claimed also that of the purple dye, so much famed in all the ancient world. On this subject a late French author gives the following information :—

"Many controversies have taken place as to the means employed by the Tyrians to extract this colour from the shell. However, a custom, which from time immemorial has existed in the neighbourhood of Tyre, might perhaps tend to solve the question. From the month of June to the middle of July, the sea throws up a quantity of shells, perhaps of the species termed *murex purpureus* —they are found at the depth of scarcely a foot under water on the sandy beach,—at this period is celebrated the feast of *Sheikh Machou*, a ruined Santon on a small mound near the remains of the ancient aqueduct. The children collect these shells, which as soon as they are withdrawn from the water

emit a slimy matter, of a pale violet colour, with which on white cloths they form regular stripes; to this is added a little saltwort and lime juice, when the linen becomes tinged with the brightest colours—and, at the feast of Sheikh Machou, every child carries on the end of a stick one of these variegated banners."

The present garrison of Tyre consisted of nearly fifteen hundred Turks,—who had already began to shew the cloven foot by exercising the greatest exactions on the inhabitants, (about one thousand in number,) composed chiefly of Mutualis and Greek Catholics, but their oppressive measures were as usual chiefly directed against the Christian part of the community. These barbarians by a premature want of common prudence, at this early stage of proceedings, appeared but ill to observe their favourite proverb which runs thus:—"Lick the hand which thou canst not sever; lick it, even till thou findest an opportunity of seizing it with thy teeth,"—and scarcely had they once more grasped their old possessions in

Syria, than they undisguisedly and without delay fixed in them the grinding fangs of tyranny and oppression! The Arab language has a saying most appropriately applied to the Turk:—"Should the Osmanli convert himself into the most precious of perfumes to find a place in thy bosom—rend thy best garment to rid thyself of the poisonous drug, which will otherwise soon become a burning brand, with whose insidious fire thou wilt be speedily consumed."

* * * * * *

In the East every Frank is considered a "hakeem" or doctor; many used to be the applications made to me in that capacity; and when not able otherwise to get rid of importunate patients,—for the most part labouring under imaginary disorders,—a few bread pills or a small quantity of Epsom salts would generally quiet the applicant, and send him or her away perfectly contented.

On our way through Sour we lodged with some relations of my dragoman, Giorgio, and the lady of the house, a pretty young woman of two or three and twenty, who was

in an "interesting situation," did me the honour of consulting me on the state of her health, which by proper attention to my usual prescriptions, was no doubt soon restored to its pristine vigour. But poor Giorgio's case was much worse, and caused me serious apprehension. Brought up from boyhood with his mother and sisters, and little accustomed to the roughing he had lately gone through in his new capacity of "esquire,"—what with coarse food, exposure to all sorts of weather, and hard work,—he was attacked with so violent a dysentery as to give me no slight cause of alarm, and forced me to bring into play all my skill as a "hakeem."

Whilst knocking about alone, far from all medical aid, in a country where virulent fevers and dysentery are far from uncommon —I always carried with me a stock of medicine contained in one holster, whilst the other was counterbalanced by a capital double-barrelled pistol;—thus ever ready either to kill or cure.

My medical readers will no doubt smile

at my practice in the healing art, but as I always found it efficacious, I will give it "pro bono publico" in spite of the sneers of the professional sons of Galen. In the first place I generally had my *medicine chest* furnished with a flask of the best brandy, a tourniquet, lancet, a few calomel pills, doses of Epsom salts, and a small vial of laudanum. In case of fever, I always tried starvation, and if this did not succeed, the calomel was put into requisition; for diarrhœa, a glass of stiff hot grog with a few drops of laudanum, if taken over night, and followed by a copious draught of boiled milk next morning, drank as hot as possible, and abstinence from all nourishment, save thick rice water,—generally acted as an effectual stopper, if the disease were taken in time; and if not, and if any signs of inflammation shewed themselves, calomel and bleeding became the order of the day. By following these simple remedies my patients always recovered, and without an apothecary's bill.

In the present instance, Mr. Giorgio had delayed too long the adoption of my system,

and appeared in rather a bad way,—however I managed to patch him up for the time in hopes of getting medical aid next day at Acre, in which I was not disappointed.

19*th December.*—It was not without regret that we took leave of the hospitable mansion where we had been treated with such kindness, and where the comforts of a comparatively civilized life were the more appreciated after the roughing we had lately had in the mountains;—the luxuries of sitting down to a table, on chairs, eating bread, and drinking out of a glass, taking off one's clothes, and obtaining a few hours rest without being kept awake and nearly devoured by vermin, are alone to be justly appreciated by the wandering campaigner in the wilder parts of Syria.

At a short distance from the town we passed the reservoirs commonly called by travellers "Solomon's cisterns," and said to have been built by him for Hiram the king of Tyre, as a reward for the trouble the latter had been put to in supplying materials for the construction of the temple at Jeru-

salem. The road, after crossing a level plain, and presenting many vestiges of a Roman causeway, led to a bluff point, called El Rās-é-Abiad, or the White Cape, formed by a spur of the Anti-Libanus, which abruptly ends at this point by a series of precipitous cliffs overlooking the Mediterranean, forming a pass similar to the one of the Dog-River, known of old as the "Ladder of Tyre," and said to have been first constructed by Alexander the Great.

Although I could discover no inscriptions, yet the pavement, which remained at intervals in a very perfect state, bore sufficient evidence to Roman labour and industry, over whose traces we continued to ascend until near the *Bourge* or tower of Nachorah, where a melancholy sight presented itself; for, on turning a bluff point of rock, we suddenly came on a man, covered with blood, supported on a horse, but who appeared to be fast approaching the last stage of existence.

I learned that he and his companions, whilst employed in escorting some Egyptians, not having taken sufficient precautions to secure

them, one of their prisoners, making a sudden attack on the unfortunate man before us, had plunged a dagger into his breast, and in the confusion which ensued, the whole party had succeeded in effecting their escape. I was appealed to for aid, but the case was far beyond my abilities, the life-blood was fast ebbing at such a fearful rate from a deep wound that, in a short space of time, it must have left the sufferer a lifeless corpse.

The road which passing from the Bourge-é-Nachorah, begins rapidly to descend, soon led into the plain, across whose level surface, lay, at the distance of ten or twelve miles, the fortress of Acre. Mounting a fresh horse at the foot of the pass, I here left my baggage and escort, and cantering over the green and level sod, now abundantly covered with wild anemonies, of the brightest scarlet, (probably the lilies of Scripture,) was soon skirting the noble aqueduct which runs for miles across the plain, and in little more than an hour found myself at the gates of Acre.

CHAP. VIII.

ACRE, NAZARETH, AND MARCH TO NAPLOUSE.

"What hero then triumphant Gaul dismayed?
What arm repell'd the victor Renegade?
Britannia's champion! bath'd in hostile blood,
High on the breach the dauntless SEAMAN stood.
Admiring Asia saw th' unequal fight;
E'en the pale crescent blessed the Christian's might."

HEBER.

I FOUND little change in the appearance of Acre from what it had presented a few days after the bombardment. It is true that the more immediate and revolting consequences of war had been removed from sight, the dead bodies buried or burned, and that the breach caused by the explosion of the magazine was partially closed up, principally by the crews of H. M. ships Pique and Zebra, under the direction of Colonel Alderson and Lieutenant Symonds of the Engineers. Still the town wore an appearance of the utmost desolation; and, to add to its sufferings, a

virulent fever was now raging, which had already swept off numbers of the English marines forming part of its garrison; amongst others, Colonel Walker, who had just died, leaving the command in the hands of Captain Whylock.

I also found here some of the British Staff-Officers, who had arrived by the Hecate, and was much astonished to learn that Sir Charles Smith had left the coast of Syria, the day after my departure from Beyrout, having been succeeded in the command by Brigadier General Michell.

As my instructions directed me "to acquaint Selim Pasha, the Governor of Acre and its dependencies, with any movement of the enemy likely to affect the position in which he was then placed;" and, as I was further informed, by the said instructions, that "His Excellency would have orders notifying my official employment within his Pashalic, and requiring him to attend to any requisition (troops excepted) that I might find it expedient to make on the garrison of Acre," I lost no time in putting

myself in communication with His Excellency, when, to my surprise, he informed me that he had not had the least intimation of my mission; which oversight can be attributed to no other cause than the hurried and apparently unexpected departure of Sir Charles Smith.

Selim Pasha, however, who was a great ally of the Commodore, was particularly civil: he gave me a fresh escort, "Boyurdis,"* to Soleiman Abdul Hadi, the Governor of Naplouse, to Osman Aga, who commanded at Jerusalem, promised to afford me every assistance in the execution of my mission, and that due attention should be paid to any requisition I might make from my "Mountain domains." He was, in short, the only Turk in authority I had ever met with, who in manners and appearance, at least, was a gentleman; and the "Koush Géldignez," with which

* The *Firman* is an order emanating from the Sultan; the *Boyurdi*, from the Vizier or Pasha commanding a province; whilst the *Fetwah* is derived from the Mufti.

he welcomed me, was politeness and affability personified; moreover, his tobacco was good, coffee well flavoured, and sherbet deliciously cool.

The Marines,—both officers and men,—were quartered in the extensive building constructed by Daher, and repairing thither to look out for a billet, I was lucky enough to stumble on an excellent fellow—Captain Childs of the Royal Marines—who gave me a feed of salt junk and biscuit, seasoned, however, by a soldier's welcome, and a hard shake-down on the floor of his barrack-room.*

I shall always stick up for the Marines as a fine and useful body of men, on whom, of late years, has devolved the greater part of the hard work of both services, for which, God knows, they are badly enough rewarded, and although no one can deny their being able to *rough it* with any of us, they, however, do not

* In hopes these lines may some day meet the eye of Captain Childs, the author takes this opportunity of returning him his sincere thanks for all his hospitality on that, and subsequent occasions, at the same place.

appear to be as yet initiated in the grand secret of old campaigners, viz. that of speedily making themselves comfortable in any quarters they may occupy,—at least my friends at Acre certainly did not manage things well in this respect.

On the arrival of Giorgio with the baggage, I immediately put him into the hands of the English medical officer in charge of our troops, who, in a couple of days, effected wonders towards a complete cure;—I also found that it would be requisite to make many reforms in the baggage department, which was of far too cumbrous a nature for my erratic movements. Therefore, leaving trunks, bedding, and tent in charge of Captain Childs, I crammed a few necessary articles into a couple of saddle-bags, and reduced to this light marching order kit, which I placed on my second charger,—I had two or three spare horses at my disposal, on which I mounted the Saïces or grooms, and my force being now entirely composed of *Cavalry*, was enabled to take

marches, and perform distances, which would have astonished some of our "Heavies,"* and I have no doubt, taken the shine out of their sleek cattle.

To the traveller, who can, at his leisure, traverse the interesting country of Syria, I would strongly recommend a small tent, which, pitched under the first shady tree, will save him from a world of annoyances he is sure to encounter in the filth of the villages, and the innumerable legions of vermin which always infest the houses. To guard against these pigmy foes, I carried a thin linen sack, into which, having, without undressing, duly inserted myself, by drawing the string with which it was closed tightly round my neck, and rolling myself up in a boat cloak, with a saddle for a pillow, I

* An old flea-bitten grey horse, given to me by the Commodore, has, on more than one occasion, carried me for sixteen or eighteen hours at a stretch, without food; and on one occasion, I cantered him from Hebron to Jaffa, nearly fifty miles, without pulling bit; and, at the end of such journeys, Arab horses get only a few handfuls of barley, no bedding or grooming, and generally the saddle is never removed.

generally managed to enjoy a capital and refreshing night's rest; but always was on foot, and roused up my party, a couple of hours before day-break.

Acre, notwithstanding the number of times it has been demolished and rebuilt, still retains evident vestiges of the Crusaders; and, to a Briton, must ever afford proud recollections of the gallantry of his countrymen—from the walls, whence Sir Sydney Smith repulsed the utmost efforts of Napoleon, is still to be contemplated that monument of past ages, the mound of our Lion-hearted King; with which are also connected the chivalrous associations of Richard, Earl of Cornwall; of Prince Edward and his devoted Eleanor.*

From this very mound it was that the modern Tamerlane, contemplated, in anticipation, the "tri-color" floating o'er the proud dome of St. Sophia at Stamboul, and the tall minars of the Taje at Agra; from hence he raised his foot to trample on a prostrate world; but the threatening movement was only the prelude to that igno-

* See Note at the end of the volume.

minious flight which commenced on the 18th of May, 1791; whilst Richard's,—now "Sydney Smith's Mound,"—served to turn the course of a devastating torrent, which might otherwise have deluged in blood the fairest regions of the globe.*

* * * *

Dec. 20th.—After finishing my dispatches, I strolled about the town, noting many things worthy of attention, which had escaped observation in my first hasty visit to the place; but I in vain looked for the remains described by Maundrell, (1697,) as those of a large nunnery, of which it is related, that, on the town being taken by the Mamelukes in 1291, "the Abbess set the example of mutilating herself, by cutting off her nose; and when the Turks found, on breaking into the nunnery, instead of those beautiful ladies they expected, such tragical spectacles, they took revenge for their disappointed lusts by putting them all to the sword." A story which may be true, but

* See Note at the end of the volume.

which is also related of several other abbesses and their flocks in less remote localities.

During the day I received an invitation to take my "âshe" or supper with Sheikh Seïd, the civil governor of the place, who, on the occasion gave a sumptuous feast, at which, amongst other articles, a large ram roasted whole, and still wearing his horns, particularly attracted my attention. The "convives" were all Syrians, excepting a celebrated character whom I now met for the first time; this was a hearty old fellow, named Catafago, whose father had come originally from Trieste, and the son, born at Aleppo, had been for upwards of half a century settled in Syria, where he had adopted the customs of the country, taken a Syrian wife, and made a considerable fortune. Catafago's hospitality has made him acquainted with nearly every traveller, who of late years has visited Syria. Burckhardt, Lamartine, and many others, make honourable mention of the old gentleman, who generally resides at Caïpha, but always goes

during the summer months to a cool retreat in the hills near Nazareth.

Burckhardt (1812) says: "The chief man at present at Nazareth is Mr. Catafago, a merchant of Frank origin, born at Aleppo. He has rented for the Pasha about twelve villages, situated in the neighbourhood of Nazareth, and on the plain of Esdrelon, for which he pays yearly, upwards of £3000.* * * * He has become a person of great consequence. His influence and recommendations may prove very useful to travellers in Palestine, especially those who visit the dangerous districts of Naplouse."

Lamartine also says of old Catafago: "On awaking, I was astonished to hear a voice addressing me in Italian: It proceeded from the former French Vice-Consul at Acre. Mr. Catafago, an important personage, well known over all Syria, where his title of European Agent, his friendship with

* These are all assessed at certain yearly sums, which each is obliged to pay, whatever may be the number of its inhabitants. This is one of the chief causes of the depopulation of many parts of Syria.

Abdallah, Pasha of Acre, his commercial relations, and riches, have rendered him celebrated and powerful. He is, at present, (1832,) Consul for Austria at St. Jean d'Acre. His costume was a combination of the Arab and European, clothed with a red pelisse lined with ermine, he carried on his head an immense three-cornered cocked hat, probably a relic of some French General Officer of Bonaparte's army."

As Catafago only sported the aforementioned cocked hat on particular and official occasions, I had not the pleasure of witnessing him in that imposing costume, which excites such a degree of admiration in the neighbouring tribes of Arabs, that they are said to swear by the *bournetta* (hat) of Catafago.

We broke up late from the feast, my new acquaintance promising to be on horseback next morning by sunrise, to accompany me to Nazareth, where he proposed to entertain me at his country house.

Dec. 21st.—The morning was far advanced ere my escort was in readiness, when

we all started for Nazareth, accompanied by Catafago, who was true to his promise. A few hundred yards from the walls, as we passed under the Mound of Richard Cœur-de-lion, I could not resist the impulse of spurring my charger up its sides, and standing for a brief space on a spot, which, in the good old times of chivalry, had so long been shaded by England's proud banner. In such a locality, how many conflicting sentiments flit across the imagination, as all that has been heard and read of the deeds and personages connected with the spot, rushes like a whirlwind on the confused and bewildered brain!

Such moments as these are not to be counted; and I was at last awakened from a lengthened reverie, and from a communion with ages long since obliterated, by the gay sounds of military music, and, looking around, I beheld a column of Turkish troops slowly winding along the base of the Mound, whilst my escort, dwindled into distance, could just be discerned in the midst of the smooth wide stretching plains of Zebulon, over

which my noble steed was soon bounding in pursuit of his comrades.

The river Belus, which runs through this level plain, has converted large tracts of it into stagnant marshes, from whence those exhalations arise, no doubt causing the malignant fevers wherewith the neighbourhood is often afflicted; and this scourge will exist as long as the evil is not arrested by proper drainage, which object might easily be effected.

Nine or ten miles from Acre we left the hitherto level plain of Zebulon, and ascended the acclivities formed by a prolonged branch of the Anti-Libanus, on whose side stands the fortress of Saffer-Amur. We here changed our escort, and were accompanied by a wild set of Mountaineers, on small but stout and active ponies, who, pushed along at a pace which did not suit old Catafago's portly person and staid habits, and obliged him, though reluctantly, to fall to the rear.

The country we passed, shortly after quitting Saffer-Amur, differed in appearance from anything I had yet witnessed in Syria —the gently undulating ground covered

vered with rich pasture, and shaded by scattered groups of magnificent Valonia oak trees, reminded one strongly of English park scenery—or perhaps resembled more nearly the beautiful country about Alexandria Troas in Asia Minor.*

After traversing a country of this nature for twelve or thirteen miles, we suddenly descended into a valley, where the small town of Nazareth† lies embedded in groves of sombre-coloured olive-trees,—here and there dotted with pomegranate shrubs, and plants of the prickly pear.

Proceeding direct to the Franciscan convent, which stands upon the reputed site of the abode of Joseph the carpenter, and that of

* Vide the author's "Excursions along the Shores of the Mediterranean," vol. ii. chap. 9; and Lord Lindsay's Letters, vol. ii. p. 77.

† ناصرة (Nāsrāh) from whence the town derives its name, is the Arabic for "Victory." Hence Nāzārene, a term of reproach against the Christians, means literally the "Victorious." The Frank traveller in the East is often annoyed by the children following him and uttering the following euphonous rhymes:—

"Ya Nāsārānee
Khelb Murānee."

the mother of our Saviour, we were graciously received by the Superior, the Padre Deodato of Lucca, a fine looking friar with the most splendid growth of beard I ever beheld, who hospitably invited us to the refectory, where we soon partook of a capital repast, diluted with excellent wine, and followed by liqueurs—all of which Giorgio scrupled not to partake of,—notwithstanding his late illness, and the horror he, like a good Greek, entertained of everything belonging to the Latin Church.

I found the Superior a person of a very communicative and entertaining description, a boon companion, and a very "Friar Tuck" as to the bottle. He appeared to apprehend greatly a visit from the Egyptians, who (in consequence of their having, the day before, thrown forward a reconnoitering party as far as Feik, near Lake Tiberias) he feared were about to take this line of retreat, through the plains of Esdraëlon and Sharon, on their way to Gaza.

From the nature of the ground in this direction, so well adapted to the large force

of well-organised cavalry which he possessed, I thought it very likely that it would be Ibrahim's route;—and, in conseqnence of the Padre's intelligence, I immediately forwarded a despatch to Captain Edmonds,* an English officer, who had been sent to collect intelligence at Tiberias; acquainting him with my position, and requesting the earliest information as to the movements of the enemy,—with a description of the country at that part of the Jordan where he would be most likely to cross,—as I easily foresaw that this and the pass of Kakoum (leading through a part of the range of Mount Carmel, from the plains of Esdraëlon to those of Sharon) would be the only points where my mountain force could have any chance of being employed with effect.

Had Ibrahim Pasha chosen this route, and carried his intentions into immediate execution, the Turks—not being prepared or

* Captain Edmonds was an officer of the Company's service, who on his way out to India, to rejoin his regiment, managed to get employed in Syria by the Foreign Office. He subsequently lost his life in an attempt to reach India *via* Persia.

capable of offering any opposition,—he would most probably have reached Gaza without material loss, and thus escaped all the hardships and suffering, which, together with the constant harassing attacks of the hostile Arab tribes, tended so much to thin his ranks, in the passage through the Hauran and those deserts to the east of the Dead Sea.

* * * * * *

St. Helena, the sainted mother of Constantine the Great, as is well known, erected churches in Palestine on every place consecrated by tradition, of however improbable a nature; and each spot here at Nazareth, in any way, said to be allied to the events in the life of our Saviour or of the Virgin Mary, has been in this manner handed down to the notice of posterity,—but, in listening to these legends, narrated by bigoted or interested monks, the travelled pilgrim should place certain bounds to his pious credulity.

It is, however,—according to the assertions of mine host,—quite unquestionable that the present convent stands on the identical spot occupied by the house of Joseph, and where

the "annunciation" of the birth is said to have occurred.

Reserving for the following morning a visit to the latter place, as the Padre informed us it would then be seen to greater advantage, during the performance of the matin service, we accompanied him on a tour of inspection to the different remarkable sites of this holy locality—such as the synagogue frequented by Christ; the workshop of Joseph the carpenter; the apartment where our Lord supped with his apostles, and containing a long Latin inscription, of which I regret not having taken a copy—but, on reading it aloud, I received from the Padre a written paper with his signature and seal attached,* certifying my having done so—a document it is necessary to produce, in order to obtain from the Bishop at Jerusalem the usual diploma of hadjee or pilgrim—to which the devout Christian who has visited all the relics of the Holy Land becomes entitled, and which, amongst many spiritual privileges, confers on him, in addi-

* See note at the end of the volume.

88243

tion to forgiveness for past misdeeds, the rather temporal advantage of an indulgence for all sins he may commit during the period of seven years to come!

The reader may easily imagine, that I was not disposed to forego so important a boon, and having duly gone through the required formula, I received at the hands of the holy Friar, this important document, a preliminary step towards entitling me to wear sandal and cockle-shell; to carry the palm-branch; to be, in short, on my return to old England, a *bona fide* Palmer in every sense of the word!

* * * *

The shortest day in the year: it was the 21st of December—had already drawn to a close, and had been some time succeeded by darkness, ere we returned to the convent, when Giorgio, fatigued after his late illness, with the exertions of the day, retired to bed, at which the Padre appeared not a little rejoiced, for, "now," said he, "that we have got rid of the 'Maladetto Greco,' (the cursed Greek,) we will go and have a little conversation and *cena*, (supper), in my pri-

vate apartment." It is impossible to form any conception of the hatred entertained by the various Christian sects in Syria against each other, more particularly by the two most powerful ones belonging to the Greek and Latin Churches; and of this, I had now the above specimen.

We accordingly repaired to the Padre's "Sanctum," where an excellent supper soon appeared; and when the lay-brothers who served it up had retired, the Superior, with a knowing wink, proceeding to a recess, produced therefrom some bottles of what proved to be most delicious old wine.

Padre Deodato Prospero was,—unlike the generality of his order,—a well-informed intelligent fellow, and I took advantage of his sociable humour, to elicit from him all the information I could obtain. He said, that the convent and church which had been founded by St^a. Helena, contained about twenty friars, most of them Spaniards, but himself and two others were Italians; and that the town of Nazareth was composed of a mixed population of Mahomedans, Catholics, and

a few Maronites, that however the greater part consisted of "Maladetti Greci."

"But how comes it, most reverend Father," said I, "that, with such an aversion to heterodoxy, you should be here seated in friendly communion with such an arch-heretic as myself, of the "Maladetto" and accursed Church of England?"

"Oh!" said the ready-witted Monk, "*questo é molto differente*; for although it is true we consider your countrymen as at present in a benighted state, still we owe them gratitude for past services, rendered in a sacred cause—the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre; and this very spot was marked by a victory obtained by an English Prince,* over the unbelievers, by which he became master and retained possession of Nazareth, after putting every infidel to the sword. More lately, an Englishman did us good service, for after the siege of Acre, in 1799, when Djezzar Pasha threatened to put to death every Christian of this place, the

* Prince Edward, afterwards King Edward I. (See Note at the end of the volume.)

English Commodore, (Sir Sydney Smith,) intimated to him, that such an act would be instantly followed by the bombardment of the town, which threat effectually prevented the execution of this inhuman measure. And now," added the crafty Priest, " I dare say *Sua Eccellenza* will do us a good turn, by writing to Commodore Napier to have our present rights and privileges confirmed under the new order of things."

It appeared that Nazareth was also the scene of operations during the French invasion of Syria, and that Junot had here fought a sanguinary battle with the Turks; whilst, in the very room where we were then seated, Bonaparte dined, after returning from the relief of Kleber, who, with 1500 men, found himself surrounded in the plains of Esdraëlon, by a large irregular force of Turks and Arabs.

But the night wore on apace. The jolly Friar, who appeared disposed to prolong the revels of the evening, rose for another supply of the generous fluid; when, upon my reminding him of the lateness of the

hour, and of our engagement to attend Matins in the chapel of the Virgin, he reluctantly took up the brass lamp, and accompanying me along the now deserted galleries, which loudly reverberated the sounds of his sandalled tread, and the jingle of my rusty spurs,—shewed me into a cell, where, under a large crucifix, was spread a very comfortable couch, on which I immediately threw myself, and was soon—in balmy sleep, —lost to all the cares, sorrows, and pleasures of the world.

Next morning, a couple of hours before daylight, I was aroused by some one entering my cell, and springing up, I beheld my companion of the preceding evening;—the flush of excitement and revelry, had passed away, nor left any traces on a countenance, which, by the light of the glimmering lamp he held in his hand, now shewed all the calm austerity of the devout recluse; but I found that a plentiful libation of cold water was requisite to obliterate, in my own person, the effects of last night's excess. After performing this refreshing operation, I

silently followed my conductor, who, winding through several long galleries, reached, at last, a flight of steps, down which we both descended, into apparently, a deep subterranean abode; the dark gloom, but faintly illumined by the flickering ray of the lamp, disclosing the nature of the passage, which now seemed to penetrate through a solid mass of living rock—the cowled figure of the Monk, followed by my well-armed and bandit-looking self—whilst the silent solemnity of the time and place was only interrupted by the heavy clank of my steel scabbard against the rocky pavement,—would have formed a subject worthy the pencil of Salvador Rosa;—at this moment, a sudden current of air extinguished the lamp, but directed by the footsteps of my guide, we both continued to advance in utter darkness, until arrested in our progress by some opposing obstacle.

After a short delay, in which he was probably searching for the key, the Padre at length pushed open a massive door, when I was completely bewildered by a sudden

stream of light, and my senses were oppressed at the same moment by the most powerful odour of perfume, with which the surrounding atmosphere appeared to be surcharged, but through which nevertheless, was distinctly shewn the interior of a sanctuary, resplendent with the richest decorations and tapestry—whilst before the altar,—brightly illumined with huge wax candles in innumerable silver chandeliers, were officiating priests, habited in all the sacerdotal pomp and richness of the Roman Catholic worship,—and waving censers, rife with incense, wafting aloft the most aromatic odours, evidently accounted for the perfumes which floated heavily around.

After issuing thus suddenly from utter darkness, such a transition to light and splendour had a truly magic effect; and I had scarcely recovered my surprise at the brilliancy of this subterranean chapel,* so

* All the edifices erected by the piety of the Empresses Helena and Eudoxia, were built over caves or grottos in the rock, generally formed by nature, though sometimes enlarged by artificial means—such are the

elaborately hewn out of the living rock, when a rich burst of vocal music, seeming to issue from the roof of the building, rivetted me to the spot, and proved to be the matin chaunt,—which at this dread hour of neither night nor day,—and under such peculiar circumstances, had a most solemn and impressive effect.

Crossing the chapel, my guide pointed out the spot on which the Virgin Mary stood when she received tidings of the intended birth of the Messiah; whilst taking me behind the altar, in an adjoining cavern, divided into small

churches at Nazareth, Bethlehem, and Mount Calvary. These subterraneous abodes were probably then used for habitations, as they are to the present day by the people of the Adjelloun Hills, to the eastward of the Jordan.

The rich decorations, plate, and tapestry now displayed during the Christmas festivities in the chapel of the Annunciation at Nazareth, are principally the gifts of their most Catholic Majesties the Kings of Spain.

From a marble slab in the grotto of the Virgin, I copied the following inscription:—

"In humillimum suæ devotionis testimonium. Ergo Virginis Dei paræ ab Angelo gratia plenæ salutatæ mysterium altare hoc Marmoreum fieri curavit.—Pater Frater Philippus a Neapoli.

"A.D. MDCCLXXI."

compartments, were shewn her sitting room, dormitory, and kitchen—for, as Burckhardt very justly remarks, "the Syrian Christians have a plentiful stock of such traditions, unfounded on any authority of Scripture." This latter reflection destroyed all the imagery woven by romance; and mounting again to the upper regions, we were soon dispatching our eggs and coffee; and, at daylight,—putting myself at the head of my small escort,—with many thanks for all the hospitality we had received, soon found ourselves issuing from the hills around Nazareth, and entering the "Séhél El Murjé-Eben-Amir," or the far-famed historical plains of Esdraëlon—the great battle-field on which so many a mighty struggle has taken place, from the time of the Canaanites to those of Kleber and Ibrahim Pasha!

On the wide and noble plain we now traversed, flocks of beautiful gazelles were rapidly bounding across our path, which ran over a rich loam, but quite divested of either trees or habitations till we reached a slight elevation, on which stands the small hamlet

of *Foule*. As we passed this place the old Sheikh, in charge of the escort, pointed it out as the spot where he had, as he said, for the first time drawn a sword, on the memorable day when Kleber so gallantly,—with a very small force,—repelled,—by forming into squares,—hordes of Turks and Arabs, until he was relieved by the approach of Bonaparte in person, with a body of six hundred men.

Near Foule, a stream which finds its way through the plain presents, at this period of the year, a most marshy appearance along its banks,—but is said during the summer season to be entirely dried up, and this part of the country then often suffers the very extremes of drought.

As we rode along the edge of this marshy ground we flushed several snipes, and I was not a little surprised to see some swallows rapidly skimming along the moist surface in quest of their prey. This circumstance may perhaps afford some clue to their disappearance from our climate during the winter season.

The breadth of the plain of Esdraëlon at this point may be about 15 miles, and in

three hours after leaving Fouleh, we arrived at the considerable village, called Jennin, which means "the Garden," an appellation it owes to the verdant appearance of the immediate neighbourhood, caused by its abundant supply of running water.

The escort which had accompanied us from Nazareth, not having had instructions to proceed beyond Jennin, we halted here for an hour to procure some fresh cavalry; but at last, the Sheikh-el-Belled stating that not a horse or man was to be had, I insisted on his accompanying us himself; when, having procured his own steed, he, with an exceeding ill grace, started as our guide. Almost immediately after leaving Jennin we entered the Naplouse hills, which presented an appearance entirely different from any of the other mountain ranges of Syria. Of a less undulating nature than the hills about Nazareth, and far less high and precipitous than the Lebanon, they afford a succession of barren heights, intersected here and there by level spaces, at some former period, apparently covered with water,—but

now generally producing a few olive trees, with which the declivities of the hills are also partially clothed; and, whilst in many places their sides are perforated by caves and grottoes, partly natural, but often enlarged by the hand of man, monuments of former industry may be seen in the remains of terraces, built along the slopes, and whose produce served, in olden times, to support a population so much greater than that of the present day.

The inhabitants also appeared to be quite a different race; they are all Mohammedans, and in a state of great misery and destitution, being scantily clothed, and apparently ill fed. The costume of the women reminded me, by its simplicity, of that of the Hindoos; but the head-dress was very peculiar, and being fastened on by scales, formed of silver coins, which met under the chin, gave to these ladies quite an Amazonian appearance.

Our guide, who from the commencement had shewn great reluctance to accompany us, now became excessively troublesome; he protested he did not know the road; we shortly

got out of the beaten track, and appeared to be wandering at random amongst the hills—this was the more unpleasant as darkness was fast approaching, and I soon found that, instead of taking us to Naplouse, he was making for Sebaste, the ancient Samaria. I now got exceedingly wroth, when probably trusting to the roughness of the ground, and his knowledge of the country, he suddenly set spurs to his horse, with the intention of giving me the slip; my friend, however, reckoned without his host, for, drawing my sword, I was soon close at his heels, with threats of instantly cutting him down if he did not pull up, which he apparently thought it best to do; when, after thrashing him right well with the flat of my sabre, I took out a pistol, and swearing by the beard of the Prophet, that if he did not behave himself, a bullet should be sent through his head;—he once more sullenly took the lead, and at last brought us to Naplouse, where we arrived after a ride of eleven hours, during which we must have gone over between forty and fifty miles of ground.

To my great disappointment, I learned, on dismounting at the residence of Solyman Abdul Hadi, the governor, that he was then absent with some troops at Ramlah.

The van-guard of Ibrahim Pasha, three thousand strong, under the command of Khaftan Aghassey Mahomed Bey, was said to have already advanced as far as El Mezrib, therefore no time was to be lost, and I determined next day to push on in quest of Solyman Abdul Hadi, for the purpose of trying to collect my "force," and of concentrating it wherever circumstances might seem to direct.

In the mean time, that greatest luxury to the fatigued traveller, the Humaum or vapour bath, soon dissipated all symptoms of fatigue; a plentiful feast prepared whilst undergoing these grateful ablutions, proved an excellent finale to the day's work; and having thus cleansed the outward, and fortified the inward man, both my trusty dragoman and myself were soon snoring in concert on the luxurious divans, in the palace of Solyman Abdul Hadi.

CHAP. IX.

ANCIENT SYCHEM, MOUNT GERIZIM, AND EBAL. RAMLAH AND JERUSALEM.

"Ali ha ciascuno al core ed ali al piede,
Nè del suo ratto andar però s'accorge :
Ma, quando il sol gli aridi campi fiede
Con raggi assai ferventi, e in alto sorge,
Ecco apparir Gerusalem si vede ;
Ecco additar Gerusalem si scorge ;
Ecco da mille voci unitamente
Gerusalemme salutar si sente."

TASSO.

MAUNDRELL says : "Naplouse, the ancient Sychem or Sychar, (afterwards called Neapolis, or the new town,) stands in a narrow valley, between Mount Gerizim on the south, and Ebal on the north, being built at the foot of the former. From Mount Gerizim it was that God commanded the blessings to be pronounced upon the Children of Israel, and upon Mount Ebal the curses ; upon the

former the Samaritans, whose chief residence is here at Sychem, have a small temple. * * * * What these rites were I could not certainly learn: but that their religion consists in the adoration of the calf, as the Jews give out, seems to have more of spite than of truth in it."

We hear little of Shechem, except that it was one of the cities of refuge, till after the capture of Samaria by Shalmanazar, king of Assyria, (721 B. C.) when it became for a while the capital of the Cutheans, and other colonists, placed there in lieu of the ten revolted tribes. Their attempts to unite themselves with the Jews in rebuilding the Temple, the enmity that arose when they were repulsed, are fully detailed in the book of Nehemiah.

Josephus states,* that subsequently, when Alexander the Great visited this part of Syria, "the Samaritans, who had then Shechem for their capital, (a city situated at Mount Gerizim, and inhabited by apostates of the Jewish nation,) seeing that

* B. xi. c. 8.

Alexander had so greatly honoured the Jews, determined to profess themselves Jews; for such is the disposition of the Samaritans, as we have already elsewhere declared, (at b. ix. c. 14.) and when the Jews are in adversity, they deny that they are of kin to them, and then they confess the truth. The Shechemites then petitioned that he would remove the tribute of the seventh year,—he said that it was only to Jews that he granted that privilege, but on his return he would make the necessary inquiries into the business; and in this way he took leave of the Shechemites, but ordered that the troops of Sanballat* should follow him into Egypt, because he there designed to give them lands; which he did a little after in Thebaïs, when he ordered them to guard that country."

The Jewish author further states, that on the death of Alexander, the Samaritans, having rebelled and murdered the Greek

* This Sanballat, by birth a Cuthean, who had been sent by Darius to Samaria, propitiated Alexander, by bringing 7000 men to his assistance, for which service he was permitted to erect a temple on Mount Gerizim.

garrison, were expelled; but their temple upon Mount Gerizim was suffered to remain.

The Samaritans, like the Jews, were thus early dispersed and transplanted into foreign parts; but like the Jews, they gradually congregated once more in their old locality. Their capital, Samaria, again destroyed by John Hyrcanus, the son of Simon Maccabeus,* was rebuilt on a magnificent scale by Herod the Great, and in honour of Augustus Cæsar, called Sebaste, which name it still retains, but with scarce a vestige of its former grandeur; and the descendants of the ancient Samaritans, now reduced to about twenty families residing on the hill of Samir, near Naplouse, still continue to exercise the ancient rites of their religious creed, under the deep shade of the old olive trees on Mount Gerizim.

During my several hasty visits to Naplouse, I had never an opportunity of meeting with

* "After a year's siege, Hyrcanus took the city and destroyed every vestige of it, and brought rivulets to it to drown it; for he dug such hollows as might let the water run under it."—Josephus, b. xiii. c. 10.

any remains of this interesting race of people; their priests, who, according to their own account, derive their descent from Aaron, are said to possess a very ancient copy of the Pentateuch, written, as they aver, by Moses, and which Maundrell and other travellers allege they have seen.

The aspect of the city of Naplouse is now miserable and wretched in the extreme; placed in a beautiful valley between the mountains of Ebal and Gerizim, and on the slope of the latter; abundantly supplied with water and blessed with a fine climate, it might be converted into a delightful abode, situated as it is in a second Eden—but Mohammedan indolence, filth, and intolerance have counteracted all the benefits conferred by an all bountiful Creator.

Remains still exist of aqueducts and what appear to have been splendid edifices, but they are all in a ruinous state of decay—the gardens are overgrown with weeds and brambles, and the narrow streets, running between high ranges of solidly constructed buildings, like those at Beyrout and Acre,

are nearly impassable from the accumulation of filth with which they are obstructed.

Under the Roman dominion, and subsequently under that of the Greek emperors, the hilly tracts of Judea,—always in a state of revolt, were constantly in trouble,—as they continued to be beneath the Mahomedan rule,—and to the present day the district of Naplouse still retains its turbulent character for which it was famed in times of old. Djezzar Pasha never succeeded in subduing its warlike tribes; and at the period of the French invasion, Junot with fifteen hundred men under his command, was defeated in these wild hills by their lawless tribes of Mountaineers.

As I have already remarked, my visits to this part of the country were of too flying a nature, and I was otherwise too much engrossed, to have leisure for making many observations on its present state—but Colonel McNiven, who succeeded me in the district of Naplouse, having remained there three or four months,—during which he fully turned to account his powers of observation,—kindly

favoured me with the following remarks, which may tend to throw some light on a portion of Syria hitherto but little known :—

"The general formation and character of the Naplouse district, situated in a centrical part of Syria, shews itself in general in mountain ranges, with sometimes narrow and lengthened valleys between them, such as Jacob's farm, running from that spot known as Jacob's well, to the village of Howara, about six or seven miles in length, and other similar plains, averaging in breadth about two miles. The mountains, generally speaking, are of a primitive limestone formation, but their stratifications are not so peculiar in this district, as I have observed in the more northern parts of Syria, or in the tracts which communicate between Baalbec and Damascus. The surface of the mountains is usually found of a rocky substance, of a grey tint, and difficult to scramble or walk over—it is of a barren description in many places, basaltic, and in many spots exudes a yellow tinge, mingled with an olive brown, which leaves little

doubt but that it contains quantities of oxide of iron;* and this particularly struck me, passing under the perpendicular cliffs in the steep ascent to Safed, on my journey from Tiberias, with the tracts or paths much sprinkled with small loose stones which proved trying for my horse, and compelled me frequently to dismount throughout that arduous day's march. Numerous holes are pierced in Mount Ebal, but not many on Mount Gerizim; however, in the latter are various small natural caverns, and also a very large one in the rocks immediately over Naplouse, of a very peculiar and striking character, and similar to those situated on the mountain sides of Lake Albano near Rome. Two miles from Jericho,

* Moses describes the land of Canaan (Deut. viii. 7, 8, 9) as "a good land, a land of brooks of water, of fountains, and depths that spring out of valleys and hills; a land of wheat and barley, and vines, and fig-trees, and pomegranates; a land of olive oil and honey; a land wherein thou shalt eat bread without scarceness, thou shalt not lack anything in it; *a land whose stones are iron*, and out of whose hills thou mayest dig brass [copper]."

(a spot now in the hands of the wild Arab tribes), numerous excavations shew themselves high in the rocks, evidently the abodes of the early Christians, and near the spot where, it is said, our Lord fasted for so long.

"In making my reconnoissance of the country, embracing a considerable radius about Naplouse, I frequently penetrated into spots of the wildest character, and among a savage people, who perhaps were strangers to the footsteps of an English officer—following various tracts to ascertain the precise nature of my district, I found myself frequently introduced to narrow mountain streamlets, where generally symptoms of coal or gold shew themselves, but I cannot say I discovered either; yet I am much inclined to think a fine field is open in this neglected part of the world for the researches of a vigilant geologist. Sometimes on the mountains a few stunted shrubs are found, and on Mount Ebal I have often, in my solitary rambles,—generally on the Sundays,—been gratified with the odour of the wild thyme, similar to that which I have plucked on the

mountains near the battle field of Marathon. On the higher mountains between Shechem and the ancient Samaria (Sebaste), I have frequently sprung coveys of a large grey partridge, similar to the grouse, but not so large, which I have seen on the wild spots about these dreary glens. I have often witnessed them mingling with the beautiful gazelles, which are also found in considerable numbers over the whole district of Naplouse. The wild goat you allude to I never observed; but the jackals I have often got close to, about sunset, in the solitudes of Mount Gerizim. The lizards are very numerous about Naplouse, and seem to find secure shelter in the time-worn olive trees, close to the town. Westerly winds prevail here, with the thermometer averaging a range during the summer months from 80°, to 85°, and sometimes 90°. The advantage of the silk-worm is unknown, whilst ignorance, filth, poverty, and superstition distinguish Naplouse.

"Sebaste is about eight miles from the latter. The Samaritans are now only to be found at Naplouse, where their numbers

do not much exceed sixty. The ruins of a Christian church are seen at Sebaste; but now, the miserable village existing there, is in the hands of Mahomedans. Various columns of a rude character, denote it, in my humble opinion, to have been a spot of great importance, long previous to the appearance of Christ.

"On the extreme summits, and particularly on the east ends of Gerizim and Ebal, are vestiges of ancient buildings; there, on the former, was the Shechem of Scripture.

"No Druses or Mutualis are at, or in the immediate neighbourhood of Naplouse. Ten thousand Syrian Turks form the population of that town, with a few Greek Christians, and Jews, in a very neglected state."

* * * *

December 23rd. We started early for Ramlah, and crossing a mountainous country, bearing traces of former industry, but now with little cultivation, save a few olive trees: halted for a short space at a small village named Dhairortie, to give a little breathing time to our escort. Hitherto the weather

had been most favourable, but to-day, we were destined to experience, to our cost, that the land we were traversing, was not only "a land of hills and valleys," but, "a land that drinketh water of the rain of heaven;"—(Deut. xi. 11.) and never do I remember getting a more severe drenching than we experienced on our march that day across the Naplouse hills. We had a Turkish officer of the party; neither he, nor the escort at all approved of undergoing ablutions so much more copious than those enjoined by the Prophet, and it was not without considerable difficulty that I succeeded in getting them over about twenty miles of ground, when we halted for the night, at a shepherd's hovel, in a miserable little hamlet, called El Mussah.

"To day," I wrote in my Journal from this spot, for the benefit of my friends in England,) "we have only come twenty miles, amidst torrents of rain; and I am now scribbling by the light of a wax taper stuck in a narghili, (water pipe,) by way of candlestick; our whole party, consisting of my

interpreter and factotum! Giorgio,—a few Arab Sheikhs,—some wild Mountaineers,—and a Turkish officer,—is seated round a blazing wood fire drying our clothes, and all smoking for our lives;—the Turk not a little surprised at my system of tactics, of marching when it rains cats and dogs; but there is nothing like custom, and I now seldom think of undressing, and if I change my shirt once a week, I fancy myself quite a dandy.

* * * *

"I have a roving commission, and almost unlimited powers,—travel about like a prince, with my escort, and having every facility for seeing this interesting country, as yet so very little known. Whenever I have a few minutes of leisure, which is but seldom, I study the Bible, and often trace many of the localities therein mentioned,—I go on with my Arabic education whilst on the road. I mean, if possible, to get to Jerusalem to-morrow—but have to inspect some troops on the way. Adieu."

We found better fare at El-Mussah, than appearances had at first warranted—for, our

hosts killed a couple of kids, which we roasted on the embers of a green wood fire, burning in the midst of our apartment, and being lucky enough to get some "Khobs," baked by the shepherd's spouse, we ate our fill,—and after drying our clothes, rolled ourselves up in a few coarse quilted cloths —the humble bedding of the shepherd; and whilst the rain fell in torrents on the lowly roof of his cot, rejoicing at being no longer exposed to its fury, we were all soon snoring in concert, and only awoke next morning to the light of a bright sun, and clear cloudless sky.

December 24th. A short hour's march took us out of the hills, when we débouched into the wide plain of Sharon, over whose surface flocks of gazelles were bounding in every direction; and travelling over which for about eighteen miles, we entered between the hedge rows of the tall cactus plants surrounding the town of Lydd.

Lydd, or Lydda, (perhaps also the ancient Diospolis, which serves as the starting-point for so many of the distances given by St. Jerome, in his various commentaries on Scrip-

ture,) is celebrated as being the place where St. Peter performed the miracle of curing the paralytic patient,—and at this day his presence would be most acceptable in his vocation of the healing art,—for a more wretched-looking set of people than the present inhabitants, I never beheld in any quarter of the globe.

The greatest poverty, misery, and disease, appeared to prevail,—the only garment, serving every purpose of comfort and decency, was a loose shirt, of coarse cotton cloth, fastened with a leathern belt round the loins—whilst numbers of poor wretches, eaten up by a horrible complaint, which gradually appeared to consume and rot away their members, beginning with the fingers, and toes, and at last leaving nought save the most unsightly stumps,—stood demanding alms at the corners of the streets, with pitiful appeals, to their heart-rending, though disgusting condition. On inquiry, I was informed that these poor wretches were all suffering under the ancient curse of leprosy, which appears here and at Rāmāh to be an

hereditary disease—and being reported to be catching, I kept, as may be imagined, these unfortunate creatures at a very respectful distance.

Passing numerous olive groves, with here and there a few date trees interspersed, a couple of miles brought us to Rāmlāh, a place of some note during the time of the Crusades; though it be not, as has been usually supposed, the ancient Arimathea. *

In its neighbourhood are still to be seen the cisterns constructed by the Empress Helena, and the tower of the Forty Martyrs, both of which have been often fully described by former travellers.

On arriving at Rāmlāh, I proceeded direct to the Moustellim's (Governor's) residence, where I found the object of my search, Solyman Abdul Hadi,—and from the reception he gave me, together with the manifest

* Dr. Robinson, in his recent *Biblical Researches*, has fully entered into this question, and has shewn that the site of Arimathea is unknown; Ramlah, its supposed representative, he states to have been built by the Saracens.

reluctance he evinced to comply with my instructions, I had but too much reason to suspect that he was, as we feared, in the Egyptian interest.

He told me that he had heard, fifteen days before, that Khaftan Agassi was at El Mézérib with 3500 cavalry, and nine guns; and that it was generally supposed Ibrahim intended to retire across the Jordan, to the south of Lake Tiberias; he further stated the Egyptian force at Gaza to amount to 3000 cavalry and eight guns, whilst several reinforcements had arrived at that garrison within the last fortnight.

Abdul Hadi's own force at Rāmlah, and the vicinity, was by his account, 1000 Naplousians, of which, 300 were in the town itself; but on expressing a wish to see the latter under arms, he made some excuse to evade complying with my request.

As to the immediate object of my mission, he said, that his district could furnish between four and five thousand men; but that of this number only 2000 could muster arms; and after obtaining his promise to

have 1500 of them ready at Naplouse, within ten days from that date,—under which period he said he could not assemble them,—I took leave of him, so little satisfied with my reception, that, apprehending some treachery on his part, I adopted measures to defeat any evil designs he might entertain against me, and refusing to partake of a hospitality which was offered with unconcealed ill grace, I took up my quarters for the night at the Armenian Convent.

In rambling through the Bazaar, I had an opportunity of seeing several of Abdul Hadi's *troops*, and never beheld such a set of ruffians; nor were their looks worse than their conduct, for whilst the Egyptian cavalry was scouring the country within twenty miles, these banditti were mercilessly plundering the inhabitants of Rāmlāh, and practising all manner of vexatious oppressions on the Christians of the place.

Apprehensive of some villany on the part of the Governor of Naplouse, I secretly provided guides; and rousing up my people in the middle of the night, at the approach

of dawn, I was already many miles from Rāmlāh, on the road to Jerusalem, in a visit to which I had determined to occupy my spare time.

Shortly after sun-rise, leaving the plains of Sharon, we struck into the rocky hills of Judea, here thickly covered with evergreen shrubs, and presenting a most wild and picturesque aspect; and as the now rugged, and uneven road,—which, at some remote epoch, appeared to have been a paved causeway,—wound through the mountain gorges, it was, at times, overshadowed by spreading olive-trees; whilst, from amidst the thick jungle covering the surrounding rocks, the shrill cry of the mountain partridge thrilled with a pleasing sound on the ears of the sportsman, whose experienced eye might often likewise detect, in the uprooted soil, the recent traces of numerous wild boars.

We continued to traverse wooded and mountain scenery of this description; the prospect, however, as we advanced, gradually assuming a more bleak and barren aspect,

till after crowning a steep height, the sombre and desolate Valley of Jeremiah burst suddenly on our view, with the village of that name lying below us on the southern declivity of the hills. This place is now frequently called Abougosh, from having been, for many years, the usual residence of an Arab freebooter of that name, who was in the habit of levying tribute on pilgrims and travellers proceeding to the Holy City;—the road here passes close to the remains of a fine church, probably, one of those numerous monuments left by the piety of S^ta^. Helena.

The path next winding along this valley, leads across the torrent, where David is said to have picked up the stone with which he slew the Giant Goliath; passing near this spot a fine grove of lemon-trees, it gradually ascends through a barren and rugged pass, the sides of which still bear remains of those numerous terraces, that now merely serve as records of former industry and population. After surmounting this obstacle, and crossing a tract of country singularly

rocky, barren, and divested of cultivation, the traveller at last comes in view of the holy city Hierosolyma or Jerusalem, revered alike by Christian, Jew, and Moslem,—by Saracen and Crusader.

When Godfrey of Bouillon with his Pilgrim Warriors, stood on the very spot from whence I now for the first time contemplated the city of David, a holy enthusiasm is said to have possessed every breast:

"Each took th' example as their chieftains led,
With naked feet the hallowed soil they tread;
Each throws his martial ornaments aside,
The crested helmets with their plumy pride;
To humble thoughts their lofty hearts they bend,
And down their cheeks, the pious tears descend."*

Enthusiasm, however, often experiences a complete overthrow, from such trifling

* "Ma quando il sol gli aridi campi fiede,
Con raggi assai ferventi, ed in alto sorge,
Ecco apparir Gerusalem si vede!
Ecco additar Gerusalem si scorge!
Ecco da mille voci unitamente
Gerusalemme salutar si sente!"
TASSO.—Canto 3rd.

It was from this place, on Mount Modin, that Richard of England is said to have beheld the Holy City, when his army was encamped at Rāmlah.

causes as, "the elements,"—to say nothing of human wants,—and though cases to the contrary no doubt may be cited, it appears to me difficult to constitute an enthusiast out of starvation, either from cold or hunger;—if, therefore, I plead guilty to having neither wept, pulled off my boots, nor performed any other antics on the occasion, the reader will, I hope, indulgently attribute such remissness to the above unpleasant sensations, which at the time weighed heavily upon the inward man.

The morning had been overcast, and a leaden mantle hung heavily over the face of day. In the plains below, this had not, apparently, affected the mildness of the atmosphere; but as we continued to ascend, the air became by degrees more bracing, till, on coming in sight of Jerusalem, I felt oppressed with a severe sensation of cold, in no manner alleviated by the gloomy state of the heavens above, or the rocky, bleak, and barren aspect of the earth beneath, which, stretching out in a wide, broken surface of grey rocks, of the same cheerless, unvarying

tint as the clouds overhead, was only bounded in the distance by massive stone walls and towers, wearing the same death-like, sombre hue, and encircling the precincts of the Holy City.

We continued slowly to advance towards the town, over this barren and rugged sea of stone, now broken here and there by the stunted form of a straggling olive-tree, whose sad-coloured foliage, unenlivened by a single ray of sunshine, was in gloomy but true keeping with the universal desolation which reigned around, and failed to throw even the shadow of a shade on what,—as we approached the vale of Gihon,—had all the appearance of being the very "Valley of the shadow of death;" for it became now thickly strewed with Turkish tombs, those "whitened sepulchres" of the dead, and the only objects which appeared to start forth in the fore-ground of this dull dreary and monotonous picture.

Skirting the head of the Valley of Gihon, and approaching the grey towers of the

Castle of David, we entered the city by the gate of Bethlehem, commonly termed that of the Pilgrims.

On approaching many Eastern cities, the gilded domes, waving palm-trees, graceful kiosks, and tall minars, often mislead the traveller, and foster the hope that he is about to enter a terrestrial Eden, the constant abode of beauty and bliss, such as his imagination may have fondly pictured during the wildest flights of poetic fancy;—should such an illusion have existed, how rapidly does the deception vanish before the sad realities of crowded bazaars, filthy lanes, heaps of dirt, troops of lean, gaunt and hungry dogs, together with endless revolting sights and odours, which at each succeeding step assail every organ of sense!

But on nearing Jerusalem the fancy of the way-worn pilgrim has not been misled by any such delusive mirage; he has reached a spot which from afar appears a vast, cold, grey sepulchre, and on entering its precincts, he finds expectation fully realized, whilst wandering through the gloomy deserted

streets, and darkened vaults and passages, of what bears every similitude to the "City of the Dead." *

The narrow, dark, filthy, ill-paved, and lonely streets,—the sombre vaults which oft run under the massive, grey, and dungeon-like buildings, and through which may be occasionally seen flitting, like a guilty spirit, a closely-veiled and mysterious-looking female figure, seem to justify the awful words of the prophet:—"How doth the city sit solitary, that was full of people! how is she become as a widow! she that was great among the nations, and princess among the provinces, how is she become tributary!" †

* * * *

* Authors, as well as Doctors, differ frequently in opinion. For instance, the descriptions of Jerusalem by Sir Frederick Henniker and Dr. Clarke, are quite at variance; the former abusing, the latter lauding it to the skies. But some allowance must be made for the poetical propensities of the latter; of which the Author has seen many instances, in following on various occasions the footsteps of the learned Doctor.—*Vide* the "Remarks on the Troad,"—in the United Service Journal for July 1840.

† Lamentations i. 1.

Proceeding with difficulty down a steep and narrow street, on the broad, slippery, and uneven flags of which our horses could hardly keep their footing, we passed a building pointed out to us as having been the abode of the High Priest Zacharias; and skirting the bazaars,—now crowded with Turkish soldiers,—on turning to our right we suddenly found ourselves going along the "Via Dolorosa," through which, say the fathers of the Terra Santa, Christ carried the cross on his way to Mount Calvary. After noticing the spot on which the Saviour is said to have rested for a while on that occasion, we soon arrived opposite "Pontius Pilate's house," now occupied by the Turkish Governor, and ascending the "Scala Sancta," by which our Redeemer is reported to have entered the same abode, were soon ushered into the presence of His Excellency Osman Aga Capedji Pasha, whom I found to be a venerable-looking old man, of upwards of seventy years of age.

The weather had now become intensely cold, and the old gentleman was comfortably

clad in a long pelisse lined with furs; and, seated in a corner of his divan, near a glowing pan of charcoal, appeared,—pipe in hand,—to be discussing state affairs with a ferocious-looking Arab, who, I soon learned, was the redoubted Sheikh Abdarrahman, the head of the numerous Bedouin tribes in the vicinity of Mount Hebron.

I briefly stated to the Governor the nature of my mission, and ascertained from him, in return, that Turkish troops were daily arriving at Beyrout from Constantinople, and were advancing along the coast, with the intention, as was imagined, of opposing Ibrahim's retreat. I further learned from him that only 3000 Egyptians garrisoned the town of Gaza,—that he had 1500 Turkish soldiers at Jerusalem, and that Sheikh Abdarrahman could, (according to his own assurances,) summon into the field 10,000 Bedouins: when, as my own small force would not be assembled at Naplouse under a period of at least nine days, I bethought myself of a little employment in the interim for old Osman, and made him the following proposal:—To

leave 500 Turks in Jerusalem, and, taking the other two battalions and the Sheikh's Bedouins, strike a decisive blow, by attacking Gaza, and endeavouring to capture that place during the night by a *coup de main*.

The Arab Sheikh appeared delighted at the idea of what he no doubt fancied would afford opportunities for plunder, and eagerly seconded my proposal, pledging himself to furnish without delay his quantum of forces for the expedition. However, Osman Aga was evidently a timid old man, and did not like incurring the responsibility of such a step; the whole scheme consequently fell to the ground. He, nevertheless, promised to put at my disposal 100 irregular horse, partly Turks and partly Arabs, with which I proposed, till my Naplousian mountaineers should be assembled, to push across the Jordan, and endeavour to obtain correct intelligence of the movements of Ibrahim Pasha.

* * * *

This being settled, and wishing to make the most of the short time of my stay at Jerusalem, I took my leave, and after having enjoyed a

splendid view of the mosque of Omar, (which occupies the site of the temple of Solomon,) from the terrace of the Governor's house—although the ancient chief had declined acceding to my request to obtain admittance into even the outer precincts of the sanctuary*—I,—accompanied by an old Jew, named Giuseppe Zachariah, Dragoman to the former British Consul at Jerusalem,—proceeded without further loss of time to inspect the "lions" of the place.

We first visited the Franciscan convent, to the Superior of which I had brought a

* Dr. Richardson is one of the few travellers who have ever explored the mosque of Omar, and he found little to repay the risk attending such an undertaking. The Hebrews excluded with equal care the profane, from the sacred precincts of their temple, and it is related that Pompey, who profaned the edifice by his presence, was only astonished at the little there was there to be seen. The mosque of Omar was also visited by Burckhardt, in his assumed Mahomedan character of Ali Bey. What is represented as being guarded at the present day with the greatest veneration is the Hadjr-el Sākhārā (or the locked-up stone) bearing the alleged marks of the prophet's foot, for the Moslems of the Holy City are not behind their Christian contemporaries in the relation of marvellous tales.

letter from Padre Deodato, at Nazareth. After giving us a kind reception, the worthy Superior was very pressing for me to take up my abode at the convent; however, wishing to keep clear of all religious parties, and thinking it more consistent with the nature of my mission to become the guest of the Turkish Governor, I politely declined his invitation—when, he sent some of the brothers to accompany us on our proposed visit to the Holy Sepulchre at Mount Calvary.

The Church of the Holy Sepulchre has so often been minutely described by travellers, that I shall make but a brief notice of this renowned building, containing so many mementos of our Saviour's death and burial.

The foundation of the edifice itself—enclosing, as most travellers seem to think, under the same roof, the sepulchre of Christ and the spot of his crucifixion,—is attributed to Constantine the Great, but the architecture is at this day a strange medley of the Greek, Saracenic, and Gothic orders, and the whole may be now considered as a mere mo-

dern construction, as in 1806 it was nearly all destroyed by fire, and has since then been restored to its present state. On entering the precincts which profess to commemorate such remarkable events, I found those feelings of religious veneration and awe, which I had in anticipation experienced, sadly dwindle away; the more so, when I beheld the apparent worldly indifference displayed by all around, and I cordially joined in the scepticism implied in old Maundrell's words on the subject:—"This edifice is less than a hundred paces long, and not more than sixty wide; and yet it is so contrived that it is supposed to contain under its roof *twelve* or *thirteen* sanctuaries, or places consecrated to a more than ordinary veneration; by being reported to have had some particular actions done in them relating to the death and resurrection of Christ."*

In short, the chief object here of the crafty and designing priesthood of all sects,† appears to be imposition on the credulity of

* See note A. at the end of the volume.

† See note B. at the end of the volume.

those who visit the holy sites, by confidently affixing a "local habitation and a name," to every event mentioned in evangelical history. Having effected this, they next by the most indecent and childish squabbles amongst themselves, and by bribing the Turks, endeavour each to appropriate as their own peculiar property these several localities. And when it is considered that the small space abovementioned is divided between Latins, Greeks, Abyssinians, Copts, Armenians, Nestorians or Jacobites, Georgians, and Maronites,—all professing an equal veneration for the divine founder of our religion,—yet all ready to tear each other to pieces in the division of his spoils, and each in turn appealing against the rest, to the common enemy of their different creeds; can it be matter of blame or surprise, if a rude unlettered soldier, more skilled in managing his charger than spelling a breviary, should, on entering a scene,—possibly holy in itself,—but so vilely abased and defaced by priestly quarrels and monkish hatred and imposition, quietly, or it may be

called irreverently, lean on his sword, whilst his predominant feelings were those of contempt and pity, as he glanced on the mummery and hypocrisy, the feelings of deep rooted hatred and malignant animosity with which he was every where surrounded! *

The celebrated traveller, Dr. Clarke, with all his profound knowledge and erudition, appears, on his visit to the Holy Sepulchre, to have been carried away by a poetical enthusiasm, which completely overcame his better sense, and subdued any feelings of doubt he might have entertained on the subject of the genuineness and authenticity of what he then beheld. He thus expresses himself: "Yet, with our sceptical feelings thus awakened, it may prove how powerful the effect of sympathy is, if we confess that when we entered into the supposed sepulchre

* Maundrell, though no soldier, felt the same: he says: "Who can expect to see these holy places rescued from the hands of the infidels; or, if they should be recovered, what deplorable contests might be expected to follow?—seeing in their present state of captivity they are made the occasion of such unchristian rage and animosity."

and beheld, by the light of lamps there continually burning, the venerable figure of an aged monk, with streaming eyes and a long white beard, pointing to the place "where the Lord lay," and calling on us to kneel and experience pardon for our sins—we did kneel, and we participated in the feelings of more credulous pilgrims. Captain Culverhouse with firmer emotion drew from its scabbard his sword, and placed it upon the tomb."*

Although pleading guilty of neither experiencing at the time the "firm emotion" of the gallant captain, nor of imitating his heroic act, yet as I handled the good sword and spurs of Godfrey de Bouillon,†—whose

* Dr. Clarke's Travels, Vol. IV. p. 315.

† It is recorded of this sword that in one of the expeditions Godfrey made across the Jordan, a Saracen Emir was anxious to behold the hero whose exploits he had heard so highly lauded, and on presenting himself in the Christian camp, requested the favour of being allowed to look at the sword with which he had performed such wonders. The plainness of the workmanship of the straight cross-hilted weapon did not answer his expectations of oriental magnificence, and on his expressing some doubt as to his being able to perform

bones here rest on the spot he so gallantly wrested from the infidel,—I must confess to a *leetle* sensation of military and religious enthusiasm, not unmingled with satisfaction at the thought that whilst other wanderers from the far west had, since the time of the Crusaders, been obliged by the tyranny and oppression of Islam to visit this spot in the humble garb and bearing of pilgrims—bowing not only to the sanctity of the spot, but to the iron rod of its oppressive rulers, —I was now, in the uniform of a British soldier, probably the first "Giaour" who, since the infidels repossessed the Holy City, had, without fear of hindrance or molestation, been enabled to enter these sacred precincts, "booted and spurred," and armed to the very teeth. But, thank God! times are now greatly changed. The Turk can no longer with impunity trample on the disciple of

with so homely a weapon all the deeds ascribed to him, Godfrey is said to have severed off at one blow the head of a camel—this perfectly removed the scepticism of the Emir, who departed, leaving behind many valuable presents.

Christ; and "Inshallah," by the help of the Almighty, their dominion may soon be at an end, their empire dismembered, and themselves driven back to those deserts from whence they brought on the fairest regions of the globe, usurpation, oppression, ignorance, and intolerance!

After duly inspecting all that was to be seen—the stone of unction, where the body of our Saviour was washed and anointed after crucifixion; the spot on the rock of Calvary where stood the Cross; the rent in the said rock, which is now covered with a silver plate;* the tombs of Godfrey of Bouillon, and of King Baldwin; the various chapels of the eight different sects of Christians; and, lastly, the sepulchre itself, (from whence I carried away, as relics, some of the artificial flowers with which it is decorated,) and obtaining on the spot crosses and chaplets made out of the wood and berries from the Mount of Olives, to shew hereafter as mementos;—as it was now

* There is only tradition to prove that this is the identical rent; but it is evidently not the work of art.

getting late I took my departure, and after enjoying the luxury of the hummaum, or bath, returned to the residence of the Governor, where I found in readiness an abundant repast, composed of the usual variety of oriental dishes, from the savoury "pillau" to the sweet and luscious "kinafeh;" and whilst discussing all these good things, set out upon a richly ornamented tray, I was most agreeably surprised by the unexpected arrival of my friend Hunter, who, having been absent with Captain Laué on my departure from Beyrout, had now taken the earliest opportunity of rejoining me, in order to participate in all the adventures of my projected undertakings against the Egyptians.*

He informed me that Captain Laué proposed being of the party, and would probably join us in a day or two. In recounting over our chibouques and some bad wine

* The author takes this opportunity of remarking that he never beheld a mere *amateur* set so completely at defiance all hardship, fatigue, and danger, or more completely rough it, in every sense of the word, than his future fellow-campaigner Hunter.

supplied by the old Jewish Dragoman, all our respective adventures since parting, time stole imperceptibly away, and it was not until a late hour that we enjoyed the now unusual luxury of undressing and reposing on the soft cushions of a comfortable divan, protected from the cold, by thick quilted coverlets of Damascus silk, with which we were supplied by the kindness of the venerable Osman Aga.

Next morning we were early aroused by the old Jew, Zachariah, who had promised to take us to the synagogue, previous to our departure for an excursion to Bethlehem, which we had planned the day before.

A sudden change for the better had taken place in the weather—which, although intensely cold was beautifully clear and bracing; it was indeed a hard frost, the ice covering every pool to a considerable thickness, and I had never imagined the thermometer could have stood so low in the geographical position of Jerusalem, which, although situated in a mountainous region, appears not to be at such a considerable elevation above the sea as to

warrant this lowness of temperature, standing, as it does, between 31° and 32° of north latitude. *

After attending at the synagogue,—the ceremonies of which differ not from those exhibited at similar places in other parts of the world,—we repaired, to take some refreshment, to the house of our Hebrew acquaintance, Zachariah, who appeared to have completely attached himself to my staff. He introduced us to his wife, a pretty girl of eighteen or twenty, who conversed in a sort of Spanish "patois," which I however perfectly understood; and which appears to be the language in general use, (to the exclusion of Hebrew,) amongst the children of Israel, in this part of the world. † After passing some

* Walter Scott in his beautiful tale of the "Crusaders" could not have been aware of this circumstance, or the Emir Sheerkhof had never visited the Holy City, during the winter season, else he would not have affected disbelief in the assertion of the Crusader, as to the existence of ice in Europe.

† The author also observed this peculiarity along the coast of Barbary, in Asia Minor, and Constantinople; it is to be attributed to the Spanish language

casual remarks on the strangers, she asked her mother if she thought it would be taking too great a liberty to invite us to supper in the evening? I, to the great astonishment, and no slight confusion of the dark-eyed little Jewess, saved the old lady the trouble of replying, by expressing the greatest pleasure in accepting the invitation; and, in the meantime, returned to the house of "Pontius Pilate," where a considerable body of horsemen was awaiting to escort us to Bethlehem.

On issuing out of the Gate of the Pilgrims we were struck with the sight of some of those miserable objects I had lately beheld at Lydd, and Ramlah; and these victims to a dreadful, hereditary, and incurable disease, appeared to be congregated here outside the walls, in a few wretched huts constructed under the battlements of the Castle of David. Mention is made in Scripture of lepers being prohibited from

having been introduced at those places by the numerous Jews who were driven out of Spain by Ferdinand and Isabella, about the end of the fifteenth century.

residing within the camp or city gates,* and the prohibition appears to have extended towards these poor outcasts, to the present day; as keeping entirely to themselves, they propagate a separate species, and transmit to their posterity the loathsome disorder with which they are gradually eaten up.

A ride of about seven miles in a southerly direction, over a country rocky, barren, and uninteresting in the extreme, brought us to the site of the birth-place of our Saviour—the village of Bethlehem.

The grotto of the Nativity is in a subterranean chapel, constructed by the pious Helena,†

* Lev. xiii. 46. and Numbers v. 1—4.

Josephus says, (book ix. chap. 10.:) "Even the Kings were not exempt from this decree, as in the case of Uzziah, King of Jerusalem, who, on becoming a leper, when sacrificing in the Temple, was sent out of the city, and when he died, was buried in his own gardens."

† It has been objected to the authenticity of the tale of Ste. Helene having founded so many monuments and churches in the Holy Land, that she only arrived there at a very old age; and it is not improbable that she has received more credit in this way than she is fairly entitled to; still, she was, in a great measure, the cause of such buildings being erected, as her example made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, a fashionable occupation.

under a church of Grecian architecture, at present in a state of decay; but which must have, at one time, been a noble building.

Descending by two winding stair-cases from the exterior church, we were led into the subterranean chapel, where is said to have been the stable and manger. This being a natural grotto, is of an irregular shape, receives no light from without, but is illumined by a great number of lamps and chandeliers, which are kept constantly burning. At the eastern extremity of the chapel is the spot of the Nativity, where, on a silver plate, may be read the following inscription:

"Hic de Virgine Maria,
Jesus Christus natus Est."

—Michaud, in his "Crusades," says, that she erected churches on Mount Tabor, Nazareth, and most of the holy places. She also found the true Cross, and replaced it in the Church of Calvary over Mount Golgotha. The pilgrimage to the Holy Land now became more frequent, from the most remote corners of the Roman empire. Amongst the pilgrims were St. Porphyry and St. Jerome; and two noble Roman ladies, Paula and Eustochia, of the family of the Gracchi. These long journeys took place even from Gaul;—the itinerary of a pilgrim, from Bordeaux, has been found, and was printed so early as the sixteenth century. Eudoxia, the wife of Theodosius the younger, imitated Sta. Helena, and performed a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, where she ended her life."

After attending the service and church ceremonies celebrated with all the pomp characteristic of the Roman Catholic worship, in commemoration of that event, (it was the day after Christmas, the 26th of December,) we descended still deeper under ground, and visited the Sepulchre of the Innocents, where, carefully inclosed in a glass case, the bones of a child's hand are still preserved and pointed out by the friars as having belonged to one of the identical victims of Herod's cruelty!

Thence we proceeded to the grotto where St. Jerome passed the latter years of his life, and where his bones now quietly rest; and next visited the tomb containing the bodies of a noble Roman mother and her daughter, his *protégées*, Sta. Paula, and Sta. Eustochia, of the patrician families of the Gracchi and of Scipio, who ended their lives in prayer and penitence at this holy retreat. Some very fine pictures, gifts of their most Catholic Majesties, represent St. Jerome and these saintly women after death; and the mother and daughter, by an

ingenious device of the artist, are painted exactly alike in form and feature, though making a slight allowance for the difference of ages.

After visiting all that was to be seen at Bethlehem itself, we went to the grotto where they say the Virgin retired during her flight to Egypt; and, near this spot, a most magnificent view is obtained of the Dead Sea, and the distant mountains of Moab, from whence Moses was blessed by a sight of the Promised Land. It was a beautiful clear frosty day, not a cloud obscured the bright blue sky, nor a wreath of vapour dimmed the serenity of the air. The desolate rockiness around merely served to enhance the distant beauties of the panorama spread out before us; and our visual organs were so completely deceived by the rarified state of the atmosphere, that the far mountains bounding the wilderness of Arabia, with Lake Asphaltites smoothly spread out, like a wide sheet of quicksilver, at their base, although at the distance of a couple of days' journey, scarcely appeared

at more than the same number of miles from the spot on which we stood.

But to those who may have witnessed a distant eastern landscape, including mountain and valley, water and desert, no description is required; whilst, to such as have ne'er breathed aught save the dense foggy atmosphere of our northern climes, any attempt at pourtraying such a scene would be of still less avail.

By the time we had retraced our steps to Bethlehem, the Superior of the convent, the Bishop Perpetuo,—as head of the sees of Cyprus, Tyre, Alexandria, and Jerusalem,—having concluded his offices in the chapel, was prepared to receive us, and I hastened to deliver my letter from the Superior at Nazareth, requesting at the same time, at the hands of his Reverence, that Diploma of Hadjee or pilgrim, to which I was entitled, as having after many toils and dangers "mari, terraque suffertos" traversed the Holy Land, visited the sacred places, and performed all the requisite and prescribed observances; in token of which, I presented the certificate of

Deodato, the Guardian of Nazareth. The worthy bishop, after making some difficulties on the score of heresy, at last allowed his scruples to be overcome; and saying, that a soldier's creed, particularly when acting in a good cause, should not be too narrowly examined, he presented me with the following qualification to a Pilgrim's rights and title:

IN DEI NOMINE, AMEN.

Omnibus, et singulis has præsentes litteras inspecturis, lecturis, vel legi audituris fidem, notumque facimus Nos infrascripti Custos Terræ Sanctæ, Illusmo. Domo. E. E. Napier.—in suo itinere Jerusalem pervenisse die 26 Decembris 1840: inde subsequentibus diebus præcipua Sanctuaria, in quibus Mundi Salvator suum populum dilectum, imo et totius humani generis massam damnatam, a miserabili dæmonum potestate misericorditer salvavit; utpote Calvarium, ubi Cruci affixus, devicta morte, Cœli januas nobis aperuit; Sepulchrum, ubi Sacrosanctum ejus corpus reconditum triduo ante suam gloriosissimam Resurrectionem quievit, ac tandem ea omnia Sacra Palestinæ Loca gressibus Domini, ac beatissimæ ejus Matris consecrata, Religiosis nostris, et Peregrinis Catholicis visitari solita, pie, ac devote visitasse,

Missam audivisse in eis

In quorum fidem has manu nostra subscriptas, et sigillo officii nostri munitas expediri mandavimus.

Datis Jerusalem ex hoc nostro Venerabili Conventu S. Salvatoris die 26 Decembris 1840.

De Mandato Rendmi in Christo Patris
Fr. Albertinus a Peceto. a Secret.

Fr. Perpetuus a Solerio Episcopus
Fessertensis et Custos
Terræ Sanctæ.

Scarcely had the "Diploma of Hadjee" been deposited in safety within the folds of my sabre-tâche, when our ears were assailed by a dreadful uproar which appeared to be taking place within the walls of the convent; and hastening to ascertain the cause of this unexpected interruption to our conference, on opening the door of the apartment, we beheld the numerous monks flying through the long gallery into which it opened, with every sign of terror and trepidation, whilst close at their heels, and sword in hand, was one of the Turks belonging to our escort, evidently in a state of intoxication, and bent on doing mischief. To trip up the fellow's heels, give him a few hearty kicks, and, with

the assistance of Mr. Hunter, to secure and hand him over to the inferior officer in charge of the troop, was the work of a few seconds; but I was much annoyed and displeased at being the unintentional cause of such a scandalous occurrence having happened within the precincts of this holy place.

It appears that whilst we were attending the celebration of Mass in the chapel of the Nativity, these faithful followers of the Prophet had, whilst rambling about, by chance stumbled on some of the stock of "creature comforts," kept for their exclusive use by the holy friars. And as this consisted of sundry bottles of Rosolio and Aguardiente, my Turkish soldiers,—for soldiers *will* be soldiers all the world over,—highly approving the taste of these choice beverages, had helped themselves so unsparingly, as not only to empty the bottles of the liquor, but also their sculls of any little sense they might ever have been made to contain.

After promising the bastinado to all the culprits, and offering many apologies to the bishop and friars for the commotion that

had been raised, we took our leave, and, loaded with relics, mounted our horses to return to Jerusalem; an unexpected obstacle however, now opposed our departure; every cripple, beggar, and idler in the neighbourhood, having heard of our visit to the convent, had assembled before its gates, and with the greatest importunity almost insisted on a general distribution of alms. We were already on horseback, but it appeared impossible to force our way through this dense mass of poverty, filth, and rags; at last, on one sturdy beggar seizing my bridle, I lost all patience, and shivering across his face a whole bundle of wax tapers which I was carrying away in my hand, as mementos of the place, I struck spurs into my fiery old Arab, who suddenly rearing on his haunches, upset his opponent, and charging through the crowd, followed by Hunter, we were soon galloping full speed towards the gates of Jerusalem, where we arrived in time to partake of the feast prepared for us by our Hebrew friend, old Zachariah.

During my erratic course through Syria, I had feasted with Turks and Arabs, Greeks

and Syrians, Maronites, Druses, and Mutualis, and it was now written that I should break bread with some of the remnants of the children of Israel. A strong stomach, and good appetite, always rendered me perfectly indifferent as to who my companions might be at the social board, if attended by a hearty welcome,—and I have relished as much the frugal and homely fare under the Bedouin's rude tent, or in the smoky hut of the goatherd, as the feasts partaken of in gilded kiosks, and perfumed gardens, with princes and pashas, Emirs and Seraskiers;—but amidst all this pleasing variety of different associates, high and low, I never found such subjects of interest as on the present occasion, when, at the plentiful feast now spread before us, we beheld so many various specimens of that scattered people, from amongst those different nations where they had been dispersed,—"from the one end of the earth even unto the other;"* —whose languages they had adopted, while so strictly preserving their ancient customs and observ-

* Deut. xxix. 64.

ances,—and now assembled on the very spot where it had once been foretold (Gen. xii. 1—3.) to Abraham their forefather, that: "Of thee I will make a great nation, and I will bless thee, and make thee great, and thou shalt be a blessing: and I will bless them that bless thee, and curse him that curseth thee: and in thee and thy seed shall all families of the earth be blessed."

In short, Jews of every country now sat at the festive board of old Zachariah, and never since the days of Babel was heard such a discordant jabber of various languages; nor could a well-got-up masquerade have afforded a greater variety of costumes than was presented on this occasion, in which even the purlieus of Monmouth Street appeared to have sent forth a representative to the city of David; for I met here with one old Israelite, who had spent his life in England, and had now come, as he said, to leave his bones in the land of his forefathers.

The Jews scattered over every country of the globe, no matter how remote, have always shewn a great disposition to revisit that

land which was promised *for ever* to the seed of Abraham, (Gen. xiii. 14—17,) but it has been remarked that of late years their numbers have greatly increased; Hebron, Saphet, and Jerusalem now contain many thousands of Israelites, who bewail their past misfortunes amidst the ruins of the fallen city, and are anxiously looking out for a further fulfilment of the prophecies, which, according to their view of the case, is to put an end to their dispersion and captivity, when Israel is to be restored to its former splendour. (Jeremiah xxxi.)

Under these circumstances, Sir Moses Montefiore's late mission from England to the East, produced a great sensation amongst this people, who perhaps applied to themselves the annunciation of the prophet: "Hear the word of the Lord, O ye nations! and declare it in the *isles afar off*, and say: He that scattered Israel will gather him and keep him as a shepherd doth his flock" (Jer. xxxi. 10.)—And I was often questioned, whilst at Jerusalem, as to whether the subject of the restoration of the kingdom of the

Jews were not now made a matter of interest in Great Britain? However, much mature consideration would be requisite to decide as to the expediency of such a step,—one thing is nevertheless evident, that any change *must* be an improvement, as compared with the government of the Turks in this part of the world.

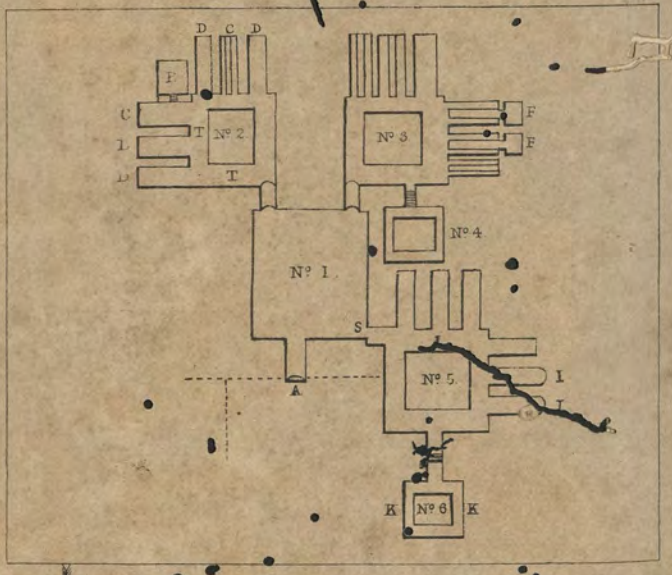
Having already noticed what is most worth seeing in the city, I shall now conduct the reader round the town, outside the walls, and take a hasty glance at what has come under my view,—on the present, as well as on subsequent visits to Jerusalem.

Issuing from the city by the gate of Damascus, and proceeding in a northerly direction, we pass, through olive groves, over the plain mentioned by Tasso* as being the place where the Crusaders were encamped

* William of Tyre also mentions this locality, as having been occupied by the Crusaders, and Michaud says: Godfrey of Bouillon was encamped in the plain near the Sepulchre of the Kings;—Tancred, on the N.W. side of the city, and Raymond, opposite the Castle of David, and partly on Mount Zion, within an arrow-flight of the walls.

GROUND PLAN & MEASUREMENT
THE
Sepulchres of the Kings,
NEAR
JERUSALEM.

Taken by Lt Col. Napier. 46th Regt



W. Clerk lith. 202, High Holborn

under Godfrey of Bouillon, and following this direction for about a quarter of a mile, we arrive at The Sepulchres of the Kings, situated about a gun-shot from the city gate, in the midst of an extensive olive grove. A square space excavated out of the rock is entered by an arch, cut through the same material on the eastern side. A large mulberry tree is near this entrance, whilst the excavation itself is shaded by a fig bush, and one or two olive trees grow on the western side of the quarry. The arrangement of these subterranean apartments is of a complicated description, but perhaps the annexed sketch may serve to explain it.

The entrance to the Sepulchres is by a very narrow low passage (A), facing the north, but on the eastern side of the exterior excavation, the façade of which greatly resembles the works of a similar nature at Ellora. To penetrate through this aperture it is necessary to creep onwards in a recumbent posture, by a passage of about six feet long, leading to the first chamber (No. 1), a square structure of twenty feet, about eight feet high,

with a level roof, and a good many *décombres* strewed over its floor. Passing through this apartment by the passage B, we entered a square chamber (No. 2.) of fifteen feet, surrounded by a terrace elevated about two feet above the floor, with six sarcophagal chambers, two of which C.C. about eight feet long and four feet wide, with channels in the centre, and having an apartment attached to it of five feet square, lower than the level of the adjoining cell—height of this cell (No. 2,) about eight feet from the terrace, the latter two feet above the floor—the ceiling slightly vaulted. No. 3, fifteen feet square, about a couple of feet higher than the former, with similar terrace;—we found here the remains of an ornamented stone door—three sarcophagal chambers, the floors channeled in the centre, and one whose floor was level throughout; and at F.F. a square vaulted chamber, (not sarcophagal,) with a descent of two feet.

No. 4, square terraced chamber nine feet, entered by a descent of six feet, down steps—ten or twelve feet in length—through a very low arched door—this chamber is of a

different character from the preceding ones, vaulted recesses on three sides without having sarcophagal chambers;—we found here the fragments of a marble oval sarcophagus, ornamented with fleurettes, and apparently of Egyptian origin.

No. 5,—fifteen feet square, roof not vaulted; the four smaller chambers of the same character and magnitude, as the first class ones in the other chambers—the three large chambers I.I.I. of the same character as apartment No. 4, two having niches above the recesses, for lamps thus: $\underline{\Delta}$ these had all stone doors;—the remains of some of them found here; one side circular, with stone hinges, whilst there exist sockets in the doorways, to receive the latter.

No. 6,—the same as No. 4, except having on two sides K.K. vaulted niches—the side opposite the door being cut into two high steps. In this chamber we found the remains of a richly ornamented oval sarcophagus, nine feet in length, decorated with a triple longitudinal line of oak leaves and acorns—olive and vine wreaths, with bunches of grapes.

In nearly all the chambers there were considerable *debris*, the mark of the chisel was evident in all, and also that the recesses had been formerly closed by doors—the centre groove or channel in one of the recesses was full of clear water, very pure and sweet, a draught of which was acceptable, from the closeness of the place. The chamber, No. 4, considerably lower than the rest (i. e. below their level.) Several bats flitted about during our researches, though not in such immense numbers as some travellers have represented.

Why these remarkable excavations should be called the "Sepulchres of the Kings", or at what time they were constructed, is still a matter of uncertainty. According to Josephus, and from some passages in Scripture, we are led to suppose that the regal burial-place was *within* the walls, for he says, Book ix. c. 4, in speaking of Rehoboam: "He was buried *in* Jerusalem, in the Sepulchres of the Kings, and his son Abiah succeeded him." We also know the burial-places of both Solomon and David,—and although Josephus

mentions certain grottos which he calls "Royal grottos," we have no authority for supposing that any of the Jewish monarchs chose this spot as their last place of rest.

Maundrell has the following observations on these remarkable constructions:—"For what reason they got that name is hard to resolve: for it is certain none of the kings either of Israel or Judah were buried here, the Holy Scriptures assigning other places for their sepulchres; unless it may perhaps be thought that Hezekiah was here interred, and that these were the sepulchres of the sons of David. (2 Chron. xxxii. 33.)

* * * *

"But the most surprising thing belonging to these subterranean chambers was their doors, of which there is only one that remains hanging, being left, as it were, on purpose to puzzle the beholders. It consisted of a plank of stone of about six inches in thickness, and, in its other dimensions, equalling the size of an ordinary door, or somewhat less. It was carved in such a manner as to resemble a piece of wainscot.

The stone of which it was made was visibly of the same kind with the whole rock; and it turned upon two hinges in the nature of axles. These hinges were of the same entire piece of stone with the door, and were contained in two holes of the immoveable rock—one at the top, the other at the bottom."

The old traveller seems to imagine that the doors were let into the ready-made grooves, and not constructed as they stood out of the surrounding mass of rock.

It is impossible, from their construction and external ornaments, to make any guess as to the period when these remarkable excavations may have been formed. The Hebrews had no architecture of their own, and these sepulchral vaults appear to belong to neither the Greek nor Roman orders of building,* and much less to the Saracenic or Gothic. The exterior façade, however,

* From this, the supposition of some travellers that they are the tombs of the Queen of Adiabene and her sons, converts to Judaism, since the Christian era, appears wholly untenable.

reminded me forcibly of the entrance to some of the caves of Ellora; and these tombs may therefore, perhaps, be attributed, in common with the sculpture noticed on the rocks at the pass of the Dog River and the plains of the Bocaah, to an era of the remotest antiquity, and probably derived their origin from either an Indian or Egyptian source, as a still unknown and mysterious link appears, at some early period, to have connected these widely separated though common cradles of industry and the arts.

After leaving the Sepulchres of the Kings, the next object worthy of attention is the grotto of Jeremiah, situated near the walls of the city, a short distance to the eastward of the Damascus gate. This grotto, excavated out of a mound which would afford a capital military position in an attack on the town, is said to have been the spot where the prophet wrote his Lamentations, and is to this day held in great veneration by all sects—Christians, Jews, and Mahomedans. Nearly opposite the grotto the walls present less height, and would afford a greater

facility for escalade than at any other point. It is here that Tasso, who in this instance has followed history, places his last assault of the Crusaders, but instead of the Christian standard having on that momentous occasion been planted on the walls by his imaginary hero Rinaldo;—a Flemish knight of the name of "Etoldus" had the honour of performing that exploit—closely followed by Guicher* and Godfrey of Bouillon himself.

Pursuing the road which runs under the walls of the northern face, for five or six hundred yards, we descend into the valley of Jehoshaphat,† through which after heavy rain, runs the brook Kedron, at other times quite dry, and whose bed is crossed, opposite St. Stephen's gate, by a stone bridge, leading past a small chapel called the tomb of the Virgin, and the garden of Gethsemane—through the plantation of olives, to the

* Robert, the monk, mentions that this Guicher was famed for his having some time before "subdued a lion," which would corroborate the scriptural accounts of the existence of those animals in the neighbourhood.

† See note at the end of the volume.

Church of the Ascension, situated near the top of the hill of that name, and from the summit of which the finest view is to be had on one hand of the town of Jerusalem,—whilst the eye embraces on the other the expanse of the valley of the Jordan, the Dead Sea, and the far mountains of Moab.

The declivity of this hill is still covered with olive trees, of a considerable size, from which as relics we cut several sprigs; but when some travellers suppose these to be the identical ones under whose shade our Saviour was wont to repose, and from whence he predicted the destruction of Jerusalem, they overlook the lapse of ages and revolutions which must have, in the mean time, completely changed at least the external face of the country.

Besides, when Titus pitched his camp near this place, Josephus distinctly says,* that all the trees of the neighbourhood were felled for the construction of those engines employed in the attack of the town.

Continuing to the south from the tomb of

* Jewish Wars, book v. chap. 12.

the Virgin Mary, along the valley of Jehoshaphat, three ancient monuments: the tombs of Jehoshaphat, Absalom, and Zachariah, are seen in this field of destruction and of the last judgment; and from this point Jerusalem has a most melancholy appearance, "whence not a wreath of smoke is seen to exhale—from whence not a sound proceeds. From this solitude of the mountains where not a living soul is to be met with; from the confused disorder, are cast up these broken, half open, and nearly destroyed sepulchres; and it might readily be imagined that the trump of judgment had already been heard, and that the dead were about to rise in the valley of Jehoshaphat."*

Christians, Jews, and Mahomedans entertain the common belief that the last judgment is to take place in this valley; and nearly opposite the tomb of Absalom is a large stone projecting from the city wall, (which here likewise forms one side of the enclosure to the mosque of Omar), where the followers of the prophet say that

* Chateaubriand.

Mahomet is to be seated on that awful occasion. About a couple of hundred yards to the north of this is the "Golden gate," now closed up by the Moslems, to prevent the fulfilment of a prophecy, which implies that whenever a Christian shall enter Jerusalem by that way, the city shall be for ever lost to the "faithful."

The tombs of Absalom, Jehoshaphat, and Zachariah, are cut out of the solid rock, and their construction appears similar to and coeval with that of the Sepulchres of the Kings. I was here again, by their appearance, strongly reminded of the caves of Ellora, particularly in that of Absalom's monument, which is constructed,—though on a much smaller scale,—precisely according to the same principle as the Temple of Keylas, that greatest wonder amongst those stupendous relics of antiquity.

Although Josephus says, (book vii. chap. 10): "Now Absalom had erected for himself a stone marble pillar in the King's dale, two furlongs distant from Jerusalem, which he named *Absalom's hand*, saying that if his

children were killed, his name would remain by that pillar;"—he adds: "That after Absalom was shot by Joab, the armour-bearers stood round about the tree and pulled down his dead body, and cast it into a great chasm that was out of sight, and laid a heap of stones upon him, till the cavity was filled up, and had both the appearance and the bigness of a grave." Therefore we must conclude that, although this may be Absalom's tomb, it nevertheless does not contain his body.

The valley here becomes much narrower, and between the lower slopes of Mount Sion on the one side, and the steep cliffs of the "Mount of Offence" on the other, assumes the appellation of the Vale of Siloam, where are situated the pools of that name, of which it is recorded that they continued to supply the Crusaders with water during a long drought, after every other source had been dried up or exhausted. It is near this spot that Tasso fixes the combat between Tancred and Clorinda; and when the latter is on the point of death, it is from the pool of Siloam

that her lover fetches in his casque the water with which he administers the rites of baptism to the converted and expiring Amazon.

Josephus makes the following mention of this spring in his Jewish War (book v. chap. 9): "Accordingly you know that Siloam, as well as all the other springs that were without the city, did so far fail that water was sold by distinct measures; whereas they now have such a great quantity of water for your enemies, as is sufficient not only for drink both for themselves and their cattle, but for watering their gardens also."

At the time we visited it in the months of December and January, there was no dearth of the pure element, which was reached by descending a flight of numerous polished steps, up which the women from the neighbouring village, or rather "caves," of Siloam were carrying it on their shoulders, in large earthen jars.

I never ascended to the latter place—the spot where Solomon is said to have kept his "strange wives"—but it appeared to consist in a series of grottos, with which the rock

is thickly honeycombed, and is now apparently the residence of a few goatherds with their flocks; whilst the valley at its foot, principally owing to the abundant supply of water from the "pools," at this particular spot, presented an aspect of verdure, quite unusual in so rocky, barren, and parched-up a soil.

After passing the tomb of the prophet Isaiah, the road sweeps round—though at some distance from the southern face of the town—up the valley of Gihon, leaving Mount Sion on the right hand, and the hill of "Evil Counsel" on the left, and *débouches* near the gate of Bethlehem, from whence we originally took our departure.

CHAP. X.

A FORAY BEYOND JORDAN.

"Jordan, those sweet banks of thine,
And woods so full of nightingales."—MOORE.

WE soon got tired of the melancholy and doleful residence of Jerusalem, which has been with justice denominated "the abode of infinite grief,—the classical ground of eternal mourning,—where everything animate and inanimate—heaven and earth, buildings and mankind—all is sad and melancholy; and where, during the depth of night, the wind moans as sorrowfully on the ear of the awakened listener, as erst did the plaintive harp of David, of Jeremiah or Job."

It was, therefore, with any feelings save those of grief or regret, that, on the 27th of December, I heard Osman Aga announce that a hundred irregular horse would be in

readiness to accompany me next morning; and, after having had the pleasure of welcoming Captain Laué, who arrived at Jerusalem on that day, we feasted, as we imagined, for the last time with the old Turkish Governor, and were soon after recruiting by sleep for the fatigues of the ensuing expedition.

Dec. 28.—Orientals are proverbially tardy in all their movements, and the day was far advanced ere getting my "cavalry" into some sort of order, I mustered them outside the Bāb-é-Shams, or Gate of Damascus; and, verily, old Godfrey of Bouillon, could he have arisen from the cerements of the grave, would have stared to behold such a wild set of "turbaned Paynims" issuing out, under the command of a Christian gentleman, from the very spot where, eight centuries before, he had so triumphantly planted the banner of the Cross.

My motley troop, apparently composed of every tribe from the Caspian to the Red Sea, displayed no less variety in arms and accoutrements than in their personal appearance, varying from the sturdy-looking Kourd,

mounted on his strong powerful steed, to the swarthy, spare, and sinewy Arab, with his long reed-like spear, his head encircled with the "kéfieh," or thick rope of twisted camel's hair, whilst the flowing "abbaye" waved gracefully down the shining flanks of the high-mettled steed of the Desert.

In short, such an assemblage of cut-throat-looking ruffians was probably never before seen; and whilst the Prussian military eye of old Laué glanced down our wide-spread and irregular line, I could see a curl of contempt on his grey moustache, though his weather-beaten countenance maintained all the gravity of Frederick the Great.

The troop appeared to be divided into two distinct parties—one Arab, the other Turkish; and on directing the two chiefs to call the "roll" of their respective forces, I found that many were absent "without leave," and the party, which should have amounted to a hundred cavaliers, only mustered between seventy and eighty. However, on the assurance that the rest would speedily follow,

as there was no time to spare—after making them a short harangue, in which I promised abundance of "néhub" (plunder) whenever we came across the enemy, to which they responded by a wild yell of approbation—I gave the signal to move off; which was instantly obeyed, amidst joyous shouts, the brandishing of spears, and promiscuous discharge of fire-arms.

Having thus got them "under weigh," the next difficulty I experienced was to keep them together: I tried to form a rear-guard to bring up the stragglers, but the guard would not remain behind, nor the stragglers keep up with the main body; and soon finding that something more persuasive than mere words was requisite to maintain them in order, I took the first opportunity of getting a stout cudgel, with which I soundly belaboured all those whom I found guilty of thus disobeying my commands. The Eastern does not understand the *suaviter in modo*: behave to him like a human being, he fancies you fear him, and he sets you at defiance;

kick him and cuff him, treat him like a dog, and he crouches at your feet, the humble slave of your slightest wishes.

Our road led through scenes of present desolation and rocky barrenness, only broken by a few scattered olive-trees, and numerous remains of former industry, characterizing the once fertile and productive hills of Judea, until we reached a place called Singain, about fifteen miles from Jerusalem, where I determined to halt for the night.

On our approach, it appeared that the poor villagers, terrified by former exactions, had fled at the sight of a body of armed men. However, on the spot where we now halted, and which I was assured was Singain, I not only beheld no inhabitants, but no visible sign of habitations; and, whilst holding a council of war with Laué and Hunter, we were not a little surprised at seeing some miserable-looking objects crawl, almost from under our feet, as if from a burrow in the declivity on which we were assembled, and with many expressions of terror, they begged us not to sink in their

habitations, on the roof of which, it appeared, our horses were then standing!

We, in short, found ourselves amongst, if not a set of Troglodytes, a species very nearly approaching that genus of the human race—their abodes being partly burrowed out of the face of the hill, and only entered by passages, down which it was necessary to creep on all fours. Having explained to these poor people that our intentions were friendly, but that unless their subterranean companions were "cast up," and would provide us with food and shelter, we should be obliged to help ourselves to both, they departed, and the whole population soon made their appearance, expressing much joy on learning that their dens were not, on this occasion, to be blown up, like so many hornet's nests, or themselves carried off to slavery, or its equivalent, the conscription.

We took up our quarters at the house of the Sheikh-el-Belled, who provided us with eggs, some dried figs, and a small quantity of "khobs;" and after dining off this sumptuous fare, Giorgio took to his unfailing

narghili, whilst "Laué," Hunter, and myself, by the sorry light of a cotton wick floating in a small vessel of oil, were making up our hasty memorandums for the day, and the former, moreover, inking in the military sketch which he invariably took of our route; then followed a pipe, and drawing round the embers burning in the centre of the hut, with the addition to our party of the Sheikh and some of the elders of the village, we, whilst warming our toes, kept up the internal caloric with a little hot brandy and water; then rolling ourselves up in our cloaks, with the saddles for pillows, slept soundly, when not "mounting guard," * till next morning. Such was the usual routine followed during this expedition by the present party whenever we were out of the saddle; and that was only—in those short winter days,—during the hours when darkness prevented us from moving.

We all continued, notwithstanding the

* When apprehensive of being surprised, we used to relieve each other every hour in keeping watch and visiting the picquets.

hardships attending this sort of life, in capital health; but it was a matter of surprise how our horses stood, without injury, all the exposure, severe work, and often short commons, to which they were constantly subjected. When we came to a place where barley was to be procured, the grooms carried away as much as they could; when none was to be had, we gave our nags peas, straw, "tibbin," * or anything we could lay hands on: they had little or no grooming, and frequently the saddles were not even removed from their backs. But I believe that nothing save the high mettle of the Desert blood would carry an animal through all this toil and privation; and as to the much-extolled kindness of the Arab towards his horse, although it may be the case in the

* Chopped straw, the only forage used in the East: it is given to the horse mixed with the barley in his nosebag. Instead of cramming their horses with hay, the Orientals only feed them twice a day; and then a few handfulls of barley and "tibbin,"—never exceeding altogether ten or twelve pounds,—suffices to keep the Arab horse in capital working condition, and the disease called "broken wind" is quite unknown.

far deserts of the Nedjed and Hedjaz, I can aver that I never saw these noble animals treated with more inhuman neglect than I witnessed in the whole of my wanderings through Syria.

December 29th. Leaving the "cavalry" under charge of Hunter,—who was fast completing his military education, and promised to be a first-rate campaigner,—I pushed on rapidly to Naplouse, about twenty-two miles distant, with Captain Laué, as we wished to have time to make some arrangement with Abdul Hadi, the Governor, about levying my "infantry," and to reply to letters which we both expected to be awaiting our arrival at that place.

It was a cold, cloudy, raw morning, and the hoar-frost lay thickly on the grass; but a sharp ride of little more than three hours brought us in sight of Mount Ebal—its steep rocky sides thickly honeycombed, in this direction, with caverned sepulchres,*

* That the natural caves and grottos so common in this part of the world, were anciently used as places of burial is often testified by Scripture. Vide Gen. xxiii. 9, also xlix. 30, &c.

overlooking the field which belonged to Joseph,* and the well, pointed out as Jacob's; over which once stood a church, built by the Empress Helena, but still more celebrated as the spot where took place the memorable conference between our Saviour and the Samaritan woman.†

Near this, ends the narrow valley of Shechem, whilst a deep ravine commencing here, runs in an easterly direction towards the "Ghor," as the plain of the Jordan is now termed by its Arab occupants. Shortly after passing Jacob's well, we entered the finest grove of olive-trees I ever beheld: their enormous knotted trunks and gnarled branches, thickly covered with a sort of miseltoe, producing a deep red berry, almost

* St. John, iv. 5, and Gen. xlviii. 22.

† St. John, ch. iv. v. 5, 6, 7.—"Then cometh he to a city of Samaria, which is called Sychar (Sychem,) near to the parcel of ground that Jacob gave to his son Joseph.

"Now Jacob's well was there. Jesus, therefore, being wearied with his journey, sat thus on the well: and it was about the sixth hour.

"There cometh a woman of Samaria to draw water: Jesus saith unto her, 'Give me to drink,' &c."

inducing the belief of their being coeval with those venerable monuments of past ages, near which they had sprung up.

On entering the residence of the Governor of Naplouse, his Excellency gave notice that he was busy, but sent his son, a boy of about fourteen, to entertain us; the latter came into the apartment, accompanied by a couple of youths, whose appearance was any thing but reputable, and seated himself with the greatest nonchalance on the divan by our side; whereupon old Laué, without uttering a word, save an expressive "Pézavink," or changing a muscle of his countenance, quietly seized the young gentleman by the back of the neck, and thrust him out of the door of the apartment.

"My dear fellow," exclaimed I, "what are you doing? Do you not know it is the Governor's son you are thus treating?"

"*N'importe*," said the sturdy old soldier, "the young blackguard deserves what he has got; he would not have dared to seat himself in his father's presence, and why should he attempt to do so in ours?"

I could not help joking my companion on his strict notions of dignity and etiquette, which, however, cannot be carried too far with these people; and whilst we were discussing the subject, the budget of letters we had both expected was brought to us, and eagerly opened.* The first packet whose seal I broke, contained the joyful intelligence that all friends at home were quite well; the second, in the well-known hand of the Commodore, inclosed part of a letter from Lord Ponsonby, with an account of his successful application in my behalf, in obtaining for me, from the Sultan, the rank of a Pasha with "one tail," equivalent to that of Major-General,—a dignity which had never yet been conferred on any Christian, save Yaver Pasha, (Admiral Walker;) whilst other letters informed me that Zachariah Pasha had been appointed Seraskier of Syria, and that the Turkish troops were rapidly concentrating under the eye of General Michell; that General Jochmus' head-quarters were still at Hasbeyah, in the

* See note at the end of the volume.

Anti-Libanus; Acre, under the command of Colonel Colquhoun, R.A.; and that Major Harvey, 14th Light Dragoons, accompanied by Mr. Wood, was travelling through the country to excite as hostile a feeling as possible against Ibrahim Pasha and the Egyptians.

Capt. Laué had received intelligence to much the same purport. A considerable time had, however, already elapsed, and no Governor appearing, both the hot-tempered old Prussian and myself began to wax wroth at so marked a sign of neglect, and I sent in a peremptory message, saying, that the "Pasha" required his instant attendance; and on Solyman Abdul Hadi shortly afterwards making his appearance, without rising from the divan, I motioned him to be seated,—told him, that however remiss he might be to us as Franks, I was astonished at the want of respect shewn to an officer of my rank in the service of the Porte:—requested to know if the troops he had promised would be ready by the appointed day? and told him that the report

I would send of him to the Seraskier and Selim Pasha, depended entirely on the alacrity with which he obeyed my instructions; and adding, that I required instant accommodation for a hundred horsemen, who would shortly arrive, next requested that refreshments might be sent in to us immediately.

This language rather astonished his weak mind, and making many apologies for former apparent remissness, which he attributed to the score of pressing business, he promised compliance with all my desires; and requesting permission to retire to give the requisite directions, we now paid him the compliment to rise as he withdrew. When we next met, it was on apparently much better terms than on any former occasion; nor did his son again presume to give offence to Capt. Laué, by attempting to seat himself in his presence.

Mr. Hunter, with our escort, arrived in due time; and we passed the rest of the day in writing letters and despatches, which I entrusted to the care of an old Jew, who had

been recommended to me by our friend Giuseppe Zacharjah at Jerusalem.

30th December.— Scarcely had we cleared the olive-grove, near the well of Jacob, when the rain, mingled with large hailstones, came down in torrents, which increased in violence, as, leaving Mount Ebal on our left, we struck down the ravine leading to the Ghor. There is probably not a more dreary spectacle than the march of troops under a heavy rain, which appears, by washing away all the "pride, pomp, and circumstance" of war, to leave behind nothing but the bitter dregs of sad reality.

The wild warriors and their fiery chargers, who, the day before, as they proudly curvetted along, appeared to spurn the very touch of mother earth, at present, like a funereal procession, slowly, and crest-fallen, wended along their lengthened files over the rocky and precipitous path, now inundated by the discoloured water, rushing down from the cliffs above, and which appeared effectually to have extinguished the ardour and fire of both men and steeds; while the now boiling

and maddened torrent, which roared with a terrific clamour through the depths of the mountain chasm, along whose edge lay the goat track we were descending, threatened to engulph under its eddying waves, or dash to pieces on the sharp rocks which impeded its course, any one whom a false step should hurl into the abyss below.

To be soaked through is bad enough; but when to wet is added intense cold, matters are rendered ten times worse; and, in this enviable state, our only relief was by frequent application to a large bottle containing some of the strongest distilled liquor I ever tasted, and which, (my stock of brandy being exhausted,) I had procured from the old Jew who took charge of my letters at Naplouse.

Capt. Laué, whose contempt for every thing, in his opinion, the least effeminate, induced him always to dispense with the use of a cloak, was the very picture of drowning, misery, and freezing cold. On presenting the aforesaid bottle to him, the old soldier taking "a long pull and a

strong pull," which nearly deprived him of breath, after shaking both spirits and rain-water from his shaggy grey moustache, stood up in his stirrups, and patting his stomach, exclaimed, "C'est bon, fort bon, mais diablement fort."

After being exposed for about six hours to this chilling shower-bath, every now and then accompanied by large hailstones, we at last debouched into the valley of the Jordan, when the weather cleared up, the rain ceased, and the sun shining brightly forth at intervals soon dried our dripping garments.

We found, on entering the valley,—or, rather, at this point, the *plain*, through which runs the river Jordan,—a great change in the temperature from what we had experienced in the higher ranges of the mountains. The river was not as yet visible, the country being here thickly covered with the nébek-tree, a tall thorny shrub, under whose shade grew a luxuriant herbage, on which large flocks of cattle were feeding, whilst the many encampments of small black

tents testified the vicinity of numerous Bedouins, the usual occupants of the Ghor.

Burckhardt says of this locality:—"Its temperature is higher than I had experienced in any other part of Syria: the rocky mountains concentrating the heat, and preventing the air from being cooled by the westerly winds in summer. In consequence of this higher degree of heat, the productions of the Ghor ripen long before those of the Hauran." The numerous streams flowing (at this time of the year) from the Naplouse hills must greatly tend, together with this genial climate, to its general fertility. The indigo plant here flourishes; and it is supposed that the sugar-cane and other tropical productions might be raised with success, could but protection be ensured to the cultivator against the plundering tribes constantly wandering about this fine tract of country, of which they have quite monopolised the possession. From the numerous Arab encampments we passed, the unprotected traveller would, I should think, stand a

very good chance of being soon lightened of his baggage; and Maundrell, amongst others, mentions that he and his party were fired at by the tribes on the banks of the Jordan.

The periodical overflow of the river in ancient times, which was said to take place at "the time of harvest," (Josh. iii. 15.)—here gathered in about May,—was, no doubt, caused by the melting of the snows on the Anti-Libanus; and, if this inundation does not take place in the spring, at the present day, it may probably be owing to the channel of the river having become much deeper than it formerly was.

Lions and other beasts of prey were said then to infest its banks;* but now the only undomesticated animals to be met with are

* Jeremiah xlix. 19, and l. 44.

Josephus, in his Jewish War, book i. chap. 21, says, in making mention of Herod the Great, that he was a most "excellent hunter," and, on one occasion, caught forty wild beasts in a single day. He adds, (alluding probably to the neighbourhood of Jericho, on the banks of the Jordan) "that country breeds also bears, and the greatest part of it is replenished with stags and wild asses."

wild hogs and gazelles,—at least we neither heard of, nor saw any others; and although Lamartine mentions certain "rugissemens," which he implies might have proceeded from the king of the forest, the noise more probably was nothing more than the lowing of some maternal cow, in search of her strayed progeny. We did not even see or hear in the "sweet woods" those "tuneful nightingales" mentioned in some other poetical effusions.*

After crossing innumerable brooks, which from their appearance I concluded to be perennial, and passing, on our right, three large tumuli, of an oblong shape, we arrived, in about two hours from our first entrance into the Ghor, at the small Fellah† Arab

* Moore's Lalla Rookh.

Lord Lindsay also says, vol. ii. page 91—"I do not think I exaggerate in saying, that thousands of birds were singing in the thickets, as we crossed the Ghor,—but the noise they made was horrible."

† The Fellah Arabs, or those employed in cultivation, and living in villages, are so called, to distinguish them from their wandering brethren, the "Bedawees," or Bedouins of the desert and pasture-lands, who look down on the former with the greatest contempt.

village of Bysan, standing among the remains of the Beth-shan of Scripture, where Saul's body was nailed to the wall by the Philistines,* and afterwards known by the name of Scythopolis, from its having been seized by the Scythians in the days of Josiah, and kept possession of by them as long as they continued in Lower Asia.†

Burckhardt—generally so observant of everything—is guilty of a sad oversight, when, in speaking of Bysan, he says,—"The only remains are large heaps of black hewn stones, many foundations of houses, and the fragments of a few columns: I only saw a single shaft of a column standing. In one of the valleys is a large mound of earth, which appeared to be artificial."

Had he taken the trouble to go to the base of the "artificial mound," on which probably stood the Acropolis, near the upright shaft of the column he mentions, he would have found some splendid remains of a Roman amphitheatre, sixty-five paces in diameter,—

* Josephus, book vi. chap. 14.

† Herodotus, book i. page 105. Syncellus, page 214.

many of the seats still perfect, and some of the *vomitorii*, or dens for the wild beasts, in a capital state of preservation. Besides these classical remains, are to be seen, immediately to the westward of the present hamlet, the ruins of several buildings, probably constructed in the time of the Crusades.

But what tends more than any thing else to identify places mentioned in ancient history, is the similarity of the natural productions therein alluded to with those found on the same spot in the present day. Nature seldom varies, whilst the proudest works of man are but as chaff in the wind before the all-destroying hand of Time. Where are now the kingly cities of Memphis, Babylon, and Nineveh? Where are the "palaces of state" and the proud walls of Troy? All crumbled into dust, and amalgamated with the surrounding soil! whilst the sycamore still grows on the banks of the Nile,—the "sedgy reeds" on those of the Scamander,—and the oaks of Bashan or Beth-shan, mentioned in Scripture * are yet

* "Of the oaks of Bashan have they made thine oars."—Ezek. xxvii. 5.

to be found in the neighbourhood of modern Bysan.

All the maps of Syria, even of the latest date, give a very erroneous impression of the formation of this part of the country,—and the most recent one published in 1840, drawn up with wonderful incorrectness and want of accuracy, presents, if possible, more glaring errors than any other.

Although on a large scale, this very faulty production does not faithfully pourtray a single feature. It represents Mount Tabor standing like an isolated sugar-loaf cone in the midst of the plains of Esdraëlon, instead of forming part of a chain of mountains, which, running from the Anti-Libanus, extend along the western shore of Lake Tiberias, and, forming on this side the boundary of the Ghor, gradually melt down into the plain, close to Bysan, leaving between their base and that of the hills of Naplouse, or Judea, a level space of a couple of miles in breadth, slightly elevated above the valley of the Jordan, with which it serves to unite the plains of Esdraëlon, by two gentle,

though distinctly-marked, falls of ground. The hamlet of Bysan consists at present of but a few wretched huts, surrounded by heaps of dried thorny bushes, piled up as a protection, and to keep in their cattle during the night. On the low mud-built flat roofs of these hovels the people had assembled to witness our approach, as I had taken the precaution,—for the purpose of preventing, as on a former occasion, a general flight,—to send on Giorgio as ambassador, with the announcement of our arrival, and notifications of the friendly nature of our intentions. This was the first *Fellah* Arab village we may as yet be said to have beheld; for when passing through Foule, in the plains of Esdraëlon, the inhabitants had all fled: now the women and children, who, in wild and ragged groups, formed on their elevated and prominent position, marked and picturesque objects in the foreground, reminded me of Lamartine's strong term, as applied to the *fair* sex of this class, whom he calls—not *women*—but *she*-barbarians. And their scanty dress, the rude ornaments on their wrists and

ankles, their wild gestures, dark and swarthy complexions, sometimes approaching almost to black,—their flashing eyes, and matted hair, —which, decorated with a few golden gazhees, fell in profusion over their naked shoulders and tattooed bosoms, appeared fully to entitle them to this appellation. There was in these *females* a marked absence of all the softer attributes of *woman*, which constitute the principal attraction of the sex, and though certainly not entirely devoid of beauty, their personal charms were, in my humble opinion, greatly deteriorated by the deep indigo dye with which the nether lip was invariably stained, whilst the breast, forehead, and backs of the hands were profusely tattooed with the same colour.

We experienced no small difficulty in providing billets for all our numerous followers; however, on this being at last effected, and having ascertained that nothing had as yet been seen here of the enemy, our party took up their quarters for the night in the hut of the Sheikh-el-Belled, the worthy old Ali, who did everything in his power to make us

comfortable, much to the personal inconvenience of a large family of goats, the greater part of which were obliged to be turned out of doors, to make way for the unexpected and self-invited guests.

Seeing we were cold, hungry, and tired, old Ali slew a kid, set his *females* immediately to knead and bake some "khobs" on the ashes, and having kindled a fire in the midst of the mud-floor of the hovel, rugs, boat-cloaks, and saddlery were soon disposed around the "hearth," and we prepared to make ourselves as much as possible at home for the evening.

To vermin and filth we had long since been inured, and having now the greatest contempt for the "flea" tribe, I had lately discontinued the use of the linen bag in which I at first invariably slept, after an invasion of the enemy had been securely guarded against, by having it tightly fastened round the throat.* But we had to learn that filth and creeping things were not our

* Another reason I had for not longer being *bagged* was the apprehension, as we approached the enemy's country, of being some night surprised in this awkward

only enemies, for to their number were now added intense cold and smoke—without a fire. The former was almost unbearable, whilst oft were we fain copiously to weep over the latter; the volumes of smoke arising from the green wood we were,—for want of better,—obliged to burn being truly distressing to the eyes. The only manner of partly escaping from its disagreeable effects was to lie down close to the ground, and in that posture "eat, drink, and be as merry" as we could. However, so completely is man the child of circumstances and custom, that we at last became quite reconciled to inconveniences and hardships which had at first been considered as almost unbearable; and as, in company with bearded Sheikhs and robber Bedouins, we voraciously tore to pieces the half-roasted sheep or kid, and dived our dexter * hands into the heaps of

position, which would have left my head completely at the mercy of the first Egyptian who might have taken a fancy to it.

* The Arabs, like other Mahomedans, never eat with the left hand, which is reserved for the performances of the lowest offices.

rice before us, lying at the same time in the most friendly and promiscuous manner, amongst the goats, kids, and calves of the establishment,—when after having thus eaten our fill, and feeling perfectly happy, we rolled ourselves up for the night near the blazing embers, the thought often came across my mind of how fast we were verging into the ways of savage life, and how easy appeared to be the gradual transition from all the refinements of civilization to the state of a Cherokee Indian, or Bedáwee Arab of the Desert!

On the present occasion we, as usual, invited our host to partake of the feast thus hastily, though willingly prepared for us; and I completely won the old man's heart by giving him some of the "schnapps" which Captain Laué had so highly approved of during that morning's march. At first he appeared to entertain the scruples of a true follower of the Prophet, against what he considered the forbidden beverage; but on Mr. Hunter,—who now passed off as the Hakeem of the party,—assuring him it was

merely a medicine, which would render him once more young and vigorous, he, after many "Mashallahs!" (wonderful! astonishing!) did full justice to the potent distillery of the old Samaritan Jew.

"Wo laish ya Seedi—And why, my lord," at last said the old Sheikh, now warmed with the potent fluid, "why does not Jenabuk' (your Highness) come and settle amongst us, since you say you like our mode of life so much?" "Yā hābeeb—Oh! my friend," replied I, "am I to leave for ever my country and family to come and reside in a strange land?" "Malish, mā be sail—Never mind that," rejoined he, "if you will come and settle here, I will give you a house, some goats, and Inshallah (please God), if you wish it, you shall have my own daughter in marriage,—and the 'bint' (girl) is comely and good-looking." With numerous expressions of gratitude, and "Khaiter khairack é khiteer," (many thanks,) for his kind offers, I expressed a wish, ere I accepted his proposal, to have a look at the "bint;" but it being then too late to disturb her vir-

gin slumbers, it was determined I should enjoy that felicity on the following morning: and, in the meantime, wishing my future father-in-law "Leilatuk said,—Good night," I was soon dreaming of herds and flocks, rich pastures, and, maybe, also of my interesting "Arab Bride."

Next morning, as the troop were getting in readiness to march, I reminded the old Sheikh of his promise. He said Fatimah had gone to the "bir," or well, for the daily supply of water, but that, if I would accompany him thither, I might have an opportunity of seeing her. However, it was written that she should not on that occasion play the part of a second Rebekah; although her revered sire appeared well disposed to enact that of Laban; for time pressed, and Mahomed Aga and Sheikh Achmet,—the Turkish and Arab Chiefs of the party,—having reported all ready, we vaulted into our saddles, and soon found ourselves proceeding up the Ghor towards Lake Tiberias, the Gennezaroth of old, and Evangelical Sea of Galilee.

Shortly after leaving Bysan, whilst following the base of the hills on our left, we obtained a first view of the river Jordan, winding its clear blue waters through high banks about a couple of miles on our right, whilst, at nearly the same distance from its eastern side, arose the steep range of the hills of Adjelloun. At this point, a flock of gazelles rapidly bounding across our path, were followed over the plain by some of the troopers, and, in the confusion which ensued, Giorgio got a bad fall from his steed, who having viciously lashed out at another horse, sent my worthy dragoman clear over his head. Mr. Giorgio, who was no feather-weight, had fallen heavily to the ground, and was now lying nearly insensible, but moaning most piteously, with a group of the detachment assembled around. On coming up I tried to bleed him; but owing to cold (for the frost was intense,) could not handle the lancet, and therefore pouring some "schnapps" down his throat, called a halt, to allow him leisure to come to himself. In the mean-

while I was much amused at seeing an Arab, after invoking all manner of curses on the vicious brute who had been the cause of the misfortune, gravely go up and end his imprecations by deliberately spitting three times in the animal's face!

Proceeding along the valley for ten or twelve miles, we at length reached a ruined khan, and the remains of what appeared to have been a considerable building of the middle ages,* opposite the fine old Roman bridge of the Moïadjumah, which, on a high arch of sixty-five paces in diameter, here spans the clear and rapid, though shallow, current of the Jordan, pouring its blue waters over a rough rocky bed, between high and precipitous banks.

The name of this place implies "the meeting of the waters," from the river El Sheriat-é-Mandour (the Hieromiace of Pliny, and

* This ruined Khan is supposed to be the one referred to by Seetzen, and which he calls Beit-Zeide, and perhaps the same with the "Beitsida" discovered by Pococke.

mentioned by the Talmudists as the Jarmouk,*) which proceeds from the Djebel Hauran, flowing, a short distance above the bridge, into the Jordan, close to Lake Tiberias.

As this was the point at which,—if he intended to retire by the Plains of Esdraëlon,—Ibrahim would cross the river, I resolved to pass the night at Tiberias, in order to obtain information from Capt. Edmonds, who had been stationed there for some time, and also to make the necessary arrangements for blowing up the bridge, as, although we found the river fordable both above and below, such a step would tend materially to retard the motions of the enemy, and, in the event of heavy rain, offer, perhaps, an insurmountable obstacle to his passage.

A deep gorge ran down from the steep range of Mount Tabor, immediately to the west of the ruined khan, near the bridge, debouching into the valley; and a path

* On the banks of this stream, Heraclius was defeated by the Saracens, in a battle which secured to the latter the possession of Syria and Palestine.

winding up the ravine appeared to be the only outlet in this direction from the neighbouring hills. Having fixed on this strong point in which to concentrate my Naplousian troops, when they should be ready, I resolved thoroughly to reconnoitre the mountainous tract in our rear; and for this purpose, leaving the detachment at the khan, under Mr. Hunter, with directions to keep a sharp look out, Laué and myself struck into the mountains by following, for upwards of an hour, the path winding up the gorge already mentioned. After a long and toilsome ascent we reached a high table-land, from whence one of the most magnificent views presented itself that I had ever beheld. The horizon on the north was bounded by the Anti-Libanus, and snowy peaks of the Djébel Sheikh, overtopping which, in the furthest back ground, might be distinctly traced the white summits of the Knessi and Sunneen, now resplendent in all the glories of their pure winter raiment, whilst Mount Tabor, the scene of the "Transfiguration," and the undulating and wooded slopes of

Nazareth, stretched far and wide to the westward. On facing the east, passing over the placid bosom of the sea of Galilee, widely stretching, in appearance, almost at our feet, the eye at one glance embraced in the far distance the wide range of the Haouran; the more immediate mountains of Adjelloun skirted the Ghor, through whose dark deep verdure the clear waters of the Jordan might be distinctly traced, winding along like a bright silver thread cast on a rich surface of green velvet drapery.

* * * * *

After being away a couple of hours we returned to the khan, where we found our people considerably alarmed at so prolonged an absence; then drawing up a report of the position, for the information of General Michell, with a requisition to Selim Pacha for a few barrels of powder, wherewith to blow up the bridge, I sent off these despatches to Acre, and remounting our horses, we immediately departed for the town of Tiberias, situated on the Lake, and said

to be distant about ten miles from the spot where our party had halted.

My troop had not yet cleared a difficult pass, close to the khan, running between an abrupt face of the hill and the river, when the advanced guard came back at full speed, with the announcement that a body of the enemy's infantry was near at hand. Closely jammed in a narrow defile, between inaccessible cliffs and the precipitous banks of the Jordan, with nothing but cavalry at my disposal, I was placed in rather a disagreeable position. There remained, however, no alternative but to put spurs to our horses, push forward through the pass, deploy on the level ground beyond it, and then trust to the chances of war.

Having explained these intentions to the Sheikh and Aga, we lost no time in carrying them into effect, and on taking extended order, after clearing the pass, saw, immediately in front of us, what we took to be an advanced guard of the enemy, consisting of some twenty or thirty soldiers, whom their white

foustanellis* and tall active forms immediately marked as Arnaouts or Albanians.

Seeing, probably, that we had now the advantage of ground, they hastily retired, recrossing a ravine which intersected the path, and extending in capital light infantry style, were soon sheltered behind the stones and rocks on the opposite bank, over the brow of which nought was to be seen save the protruding muzzles and long shining barrels of their firelocks. All this was the work of a few seconds, and passed in a much briefer space of time than it has taken to relate. I had now the greatest difficulty in keeping Mahomed Aga and his men from charging up to enemies, who, from their present position, could have picked them easily off, with perfect safety to themselves; and riding rapidly forward with Captain Laué, to see if we could not by some means turn their flank, a few horsemen, at this moment, suddenly appeared over the swell on the opposite side of the

* The "foustanelli," is that part of the Albanian costume corresponding with the Highland kilt.

ravine, the foremost of whom, whilst making many friendly signals, galloped across the intervening space, hailing us as a friend, and at the same time waving his hand to prevent his own people from opening their fire.

Laué and myself were not backward in returning this greeting, and on approaching, we beheld a handsome young man, dressed in the showy Austrian uniform, with a black Tartar sheepskin cap on his head, who, coming up, accosted us in French, and with all the open frankness of a soldier, introduced himself as Count Szechényi,* a Captain of Austrian dragoons, then on his way from Tiberias, with a party composed of two or three Turkish lancers, about twenty-five Albanian deserters, his German servant, dragoman, and suite, to raise troops in the Adjeloun hills,—a mission very similar to

* The Count, of one of the first houses in Hungary, was a relation of Prince Metternich, connected, by his mother's side, with the Leinster family, and quite an Englishman, in all save the name,—whose orthography the Author could never remember, and has even, in this instance, probably mistaken.

the one I was myself employed on at Naplouse. —In the meantime, seeing their Chiefs engaged in friendly conference, the men of both parties crowded up, and many was the bullet which on that occasion rang harmlessly, in sign of rejoicing, against the neighbouring rocks, which had, a few minutes before, stood every chance of finding a bloody resting place, after crashing through bone, flesh, and sinew!

After obtaining from our new acquaintance all the intelligence we required about the state of things at Tiberias, and having no longer any object in proceeding thither, I countermarched my party, resolving to push on at once towards El Mezerib, where Count Szechenyi informed me that it was reported Ibrahim Pasha had already arrived. On learning my intended movements, the Count, who appeared to be a fine enterprising young soldier, and ready for anything, volunteered his services, and that of his "light infantry," to aid and abet in any reconnoissance, attack, or plundering party we might make on the enemy's convoys or

stragglers. Delighted with the addition of such a reinforcement, and, moreover, of a pleasant companion to our party, I closed with him at once, gladly agreeing to his proposal; and in a quarter of an hour, (so soon are men in stirring times brought together,) we were all,—English, Austrian, and Prussian,—jogging sociably along, in friendly converse, and on the footing of old and intimate acquaintances.

Our forces, thus considerably increased in numbers, were soon winding over the old bridge of the Moïadjumah; and it was not without some feelings of compunction that I reflected how soon, through the vile agency of that "villanous saltpetre," this venerable relic of antiquity, which had now for so many ages withstood the attacks of time, would, in all probability, be sent into the air, and reduced to a mere heap of shapeless ruins.* But it was no time for moralizing;

* It was, however, *written* otherwise; the Author was prevented from carrying into effect his intention, but General Jochmus shortly afterwards caused an opening to be cut across the top of the centre portion of the arch, which rendered the bridge impassable.

for having now crossed the Rubicon, we might fairly consider ourselves as in the enemy's country, and precautions against a surprise were rendered doubly necessary, as I had every reason to suppose they would be made aware of our advance; for scarcely had we set foot on the eastern bank of the river, when a single horseman was seen over the brow of one of those low hillocks which dot the ground at the base of the Adjelloun hills. He paused but for an instant, and then, turning his horse's head, as rapidly disappeared: however, on galloping up to the spot, no traces of him were to be seen.

The clearness and rapidity of the waters of the Jordan have been often remarked, and notwithstanding the heavy rain of the previous day, they here resembled in colour those of the Rhone, when issuing from the Lake of Geneva; whilst the rapidity of the river's course through the Ghor is satisfactorily accounted for by an officer of the late expedition, Lieut. Symonds, of the Royal Engineers, who subsequently made a scientific survey of all this part of Syria

and ascertained that the depression of the Dead Sea below the level of the Mediterranean was 1337 feet, that of Lake Tiberias being only eighty-four feet; consequently, if the course of the Jordan between the lake of Gennesareth, and that of the Asphaltites, be reckoned at seventy miles, the fall will in that space amount to eighteen feet per mile; a depression of soil quite sufficient to cause the river to flow with a rapidity which has, in the course of time, so much deepened its bed as to effect great alterations in the periodical inundations to which it was formerly subject, as is testified by frequent allusions in Scripture.

* * * *

Carefully feeling our way as we went along, we soon reached the small village of Moad, situated at the foot of the Adjelloun mountains, about three miles, in a south-easterly direction, from the bridge of the Moïadjumah, and where we took up our quarters for the night. There appeared to be at this place a great scarcity of what the French soldier calls "*munition de bouche*;"

however, Count Szechenyi amply supplied the deficiency. His factotum, Hans,—a faithful old family servant,—was directed to open the commissariat stores, and to our great joy, produced some rolls of bread, a large junk of cold beef, and what was now doubly acceptable,—since all our "schnapps" was exhausted,—a few bottles of French brandy, with which we determined on a jollification, to celebrate our unexpected meeting, and also to take leave of the old year, it being then the evening of the 31st of December, A. D. 1840; the whole of these good resolutions being accordingly carried into effect, when having visited the outposts, and ascertained all was right, we were not sorry to pile some additional faggots on the fire,—for the cold was intense,—and huddling around the flame, spent the night, as usual, in sound sleep, but all ready armed, and fully prepared to show fight, in case of a surprise.

January 1, 1841.—The new year opened to us in the Adjellun hills, with one of the coldest mornings I ever experienced; there was a hard frost on the ground, whilst a

strong northerly wind, as it whistled down the passes of the mountains, penetrated the very marrow of our bones; however, Count Szechenyi was determined our "spirits" should not be frozen, for, after giving us a dram each from his store of French brandy, he kept all alive by his unceasing fun and gaiety, of which the principal source was our uncouth and half-frozen appearance. Capt. Laué, as I before remarked, never deigned to wear a cloak, and his tall spare form, tightly buttoned up in a blue military surtout, his head surmounted by a high Turkish fez, whilst the tears were, from excessive cold, trickling down his weather beaten cheeks and grizzly moustache, afforded a marked contrast to the handsome and youthful features of the Count, with the black woollen Astracan cap drawn well over his ears, whilst the white Austrian uniform was completely concealed under the capacious folds of a shaggy Greek capote, in which he had snugly ensconced himself, and from under whose hood would at times be sent forth, in a fine manly voice—innumerable

German drinking songs,—mingled with light lays of love, of war, and the chase,—all of which the Count appeared perfectly conversant with, and often disturbed the gravity even of the old Prussian officer, as, on that freezing morning, he made the echoes of the Adjellun rocks ring again to his joyous chorus. Poor fellow! he little knew, whilst in that gay mood, in how brief a space of time all his joys and sorrows in this world would come to a melancholy and untimely end.*

Winding on through the hills for a couple of hours,—after doubling our advanced guard, and taking every precaution against a surprise,—on ascending the precipitous side of a deep gorge, we came to the subterranean village of Om Keis, supposed by most travellers to be the city of Gadara, mentioned by Josephus,† and the ancient capital of Peræa.†

* This fine young soldier died of plague, a few weeks afterwards, at Damascus; whither he had repaired on a tour of pleasure, at the conclusion of the campaign.

† Polybius, book v., chap. 71.

We halted for a few minutes to obtain some water, (which, by-the-bye, we found quite brackish,) at the entrance of one of those dens, or subterranean abodes,—which, at present, as in the days of Josephus,—the wretched inhabitants share with their cattle and poultry.* Many of these caves were formerly used as sepulchres; some, which we visited, still contained handsome sarcophagi, and we also observed the remains of the stone doors with which their entrances were wont to be closed. Whilst at Om Keis, I was too much pressed for time to give more than a cursory glance at this interesting site, and therefore subjoin the following more detailed accounts, from Burckhardt and Lord Lindsay.

Burckhardt says, "I am doubtful to what city the ruins at Om Keis ought to be ascribed."

* * * * * *

"At Om Keis the remains of antiquity are very mutilated. The ancient town was situated round a hill, which is the highest

* Josephus, book xv., chap. 10.

point in the neighbourhood. To the east of the hill are a great number of caverns in the calcareous rock, some of which have been enlarged and rendered habitable,—others have been used as sepulchral caves. Great numbers of sarcophagi are lying about in this direction; they are all of black stone, which must have been transported from the banks of the river below. The dimensions of the largest are nine spans in length, by three in breadth. They are ornamented with bas-reliefs of genii, festoons, wreaths of flowers, and some with busts, but very few of them are of elegant workmanship. I counted upwards of seventy on the declivity of the hill. On the summit of the hill are heaps of wrought stones, but no remains of any important building. On its west and north sides are the remains of two large theatres, built entirely of black stone. That on the west side is in better preservation than the other, although more ruined than the theatres at Djerash; the walls and the greater part of the seats yet remain. A tier of boxes intervenes between the rows of

seats, as at Djerash, and there are deep vaulted apartments beneath the seats. There are no remains of columns in front of either theatre. The theatre on the north side of the hill, which is in a very dilapidated state, is remarkable for its great depth, caused by its being built on a part of the steepest declivity of the hill; its uppermost row of seats is at least forty feet higher than the lowest. The area below the seats is comparatively very small.

"From these two theatres, the principal part of the town appears to have extended westward, over an even piece of ground at the foot of the hill: its length from the hill was at least half an hour. Nothing is at present standing; but there are immense heaps of cut stones, columns, &c. dispersed over the plain. A long street, running westward, of which the ancient pavement still exists in most parts, seems to have been the principal street of the town: on both sides there are vast quantities of shafts of columns. At a spot where a heap of large Corinthian pillars lay, a temple appears to

have stood. I here saw the base of a large column of grey granite. The town terminates in a narrow point, where a large solid building with many columns seems to have stood.

"With the exception of the theatres, the buildings of the city were all constructed of the calcareous stone constituting the formation of every part of the rock, which I saw between Wady Zerka and Wady Sheriat.

* * * * * *

"The habitations of Om Keis are, for the great part, caverns. There is no water but what is collected in reservoirs during rains: these were quite dried up, which was the occasion, perhaps, of the place having been abandoned, for we found not a single inhabitant."

Lord Lindsay says, "After reaching the southern extremity of the lake, and traversing for a short while the valley of the Jordan, we reached the banks of the ancient Yermuck, a fine swift-flowing river, about as wide as the Jordan, but considerably deeper, four or five feet at least; but we

forded it without difficulty, and then struck into the hills to the east, which we ascended for about an hour and a half, when to our surprise, instead of having to descend again we found ourselves on an extensive plain, on which stand the ruins of Oom Keis—in all probability, Gadara.

"These ruins are very considerable: besides the foundations of a whole line of houses, there are two theatres on the north and west sides of the town—the former quite destroyed, but the latter in very tolerable preservation and very handsome; near it the ancient pavement, with wheel-tracks of carriages, is still visible. Broken columns and capitals lie in every direction, and sarcophagi to the east of the town, where the tombs are; and these tombs are by far the most interesting antiquities to be seen at Oom Keis. They are almost all inhabited, and the massive stone doors, that originally enclosed them, still move on their hinges, and open or shut at the option of the present owners. These doors are usually about five or six inches thick: the

best specimen I saw was beautifully carved in four deep pannels, with a pseudo-knocker; a wreath between two roses was sculptured on the lintel, and the sarcophagus still retained its place within. We saw numbers of stone doors afterwards in the Hauran, all the Roman houses there having originally been furnished with them, but nowhere any so handsome as those of the sepulchres at Oom Keis. Over one of them I was shewn a Greek inscription, purporting to be the tomb of Caius Annius Gaaniph, a curious mixture of Hebrew and profane names. These tombs have been supposed to be those haunted by the demoniac of Scripture; but, surely, they should not be looked for at an inland town, some miles to the south-east of the Sea of Galilee; besides, it is clear that, as our Saviour did not enter the 'city of the Gadarenes,' the tombs lay to the west of it, whereas these are to the east of Oom Keis."

We found the poor inhabitants of Om Keis in a considerable state of alarm at the expected approach of the Egyptians; they

were already preparing to depart with all their goods and chattels; and their apprehensions seemed to be communicated to our brave cavalry, who appeared to be paralyzed at the mere sound of Ibrahim Pasha's name, and whom on leaving this "Troglodyte" city, we found great difficulty in urging forward—an object which Count Szechenyi and myself, at last, were only able to effect by bringing up the rear, and soundly belabouring the scoundrels who lagged behind, with the flat of our sabres, whilst Captain Laué and Mr. Hunter, by the same persuasive measures, kept them from straggling on the flanks.

As we had ascended the whole morning from Moad to Om Keis,—on crowning the height where stands the latter place, we expected to have met, on the opposite side, with a corresponding fall of the ground;—great, therefore, was our surprise, when, instead of descending, we found ourselves on a high, level, bare, and dreary table-land, along which we proceeded during the greater part of the day; occasionally meeting a few

of the poor natives, who, in the greatest state of consternation, were driving off their flocks and carrying away their property—as they hoped—out of reach of the approaching Egyptians. Such was the difficulty we experienced in getting forward the "troops," —notwithstanding the strenuous application to their shoulders of the Count's long, straight, cut-and-thrust Toledo, and innumerable *sacre-mens*, which he unsparingly showered on them,—that it was evening ere we concluded our march at the wretched placed called Hareemy, much similar in appearance and construction to Om Keis, and only twelve or fourteen miles from the latter.

The intelligence we received at Hareemy confirmed what we had heard as to the concentration of the Egyptian forces at El Mezerib,* distant from hence some ten or

* "El Mezerib," says Burckhardt, "is the first castle on the Hadj (or Pilgrim) road from Damascus, and was built by the great Sultan Selim in A.D. 1504. Within the castle is a small mosque; there are no houses beyond its precincts. The pilgrim caravan to Mecca collects at Mezerib, where the 'Emir el Hadj' remains encamped for ten days to collect the stragglers, and pay to the

twelve miles, together with their rumoured approach by this road on the following day, and the consequent design Ibrahim must have formed of retiring across the bridge of the Mŏïadjumah and the plains of Esdraëlon. Writing, therefore, a hasty despatch to this effect to General Michell, I sent off a couple of troopers in charge of the letter, with directions to make the best of their way to Acre; and so glad did they appear at the chance of getting out of the way of Ibrahim Pasha, that injunctions to use the utmost speed in the execution of their mission seemed quite unnecessary.

The news of our arrival having already spread over the country, with, no doubt, exaggerated accounts of our strength, numerous Bedouin chiefs flocked in to ascertain

different Arab tribes the accustomed tribute for passage across the Desert. The castle contains numerous stores exclusively for the Pasha's suite and for the army which accompanies it, the pilgrims not being allowed to purchase them. El Mezerib appears to be the site of Astaroth, the residence of Og, King of Bashan." (Deut. iii. 4; Josh. ix. 10.). This part of the Adjelloun hills, about Hareemy and Om Keis, constituted the hills and and of Gilead, so often mentioned in Scripture.

our designs, and tender their services in any undertaking against the Egyptians, who appeared to be even more hated than feared in this land of Gilead.

It was now getting dark, and having had nothing to eat since daylight, we bought a fine calf, and leaving directions with Hans and Antonio (the Syrian cook of Capt. Laué) to convert the animal as expeditiously as possible into something of an eatable nature, we took with us Mahomed Aga and the Sheikh Achmet, and sallied out to choose the ground for the picquets, as during the night it was not at all improbable that our quarters might be beat up by the enemy.

Both the Turk and Arab were very urgent in their entreaties for an immediate retreat—adding, that we should all be put instantly to death, were we to fall into the hands of Ibrahim Pasha. We, however, amongst ourselves, determined on making, next morning, a forward movement, and pushing on, if possible, to the immediate neighbourhood of El Mezerib; but had we avowed such an intention, it is probable, from the

disposition already evinced by my gallant force, that every man would have deserted during the night: assuring them, therefore, that their advice should be followed the first thing in the morning, as soon as both men and horses were a little refreshed, we fixed on a spot for the outposts, near a deep natural well in the valley,* about a quarter of a mile eastward of Hareemy, but which commanded a view of the approaches over the opposite hills, to a wide extent in our front.

Having given the necessary directions on this subject, we returned to "Head-Quarters"—a large natural cave, where were promiscuously huddled the Sheikh el Belled and his numerous family—the sheep, goats, cows, calves, and fowls of the establishment, and among which were picketed our ready saddled steeds—whilst in the back-ground

* To the military reader it will be scarcely necessary to remark, that it is a general rule *during the night* to place your picquets and videttes in hollows, as in the dark an approaching object is much easier discerned from a low situation than when the observer is on a height.

might be seen Mr. Antonio, busily engaged at his culinary vocations, before a large blazing wood fire, which, throwing its bright light over this curious scene, disclosed what would no doubt have afforded good subjects for the pencil of an artist.

Never shall I forget the time I passed at that wretched place.—Although the cavern was crowded with so many inmates, the intense cold, which had covered with a thick coating of ice the filthy puddle in front of our subterranean abode, obliged us to keep up, during the whole night, a large blazing fire; and as the wood employed for that purpose was mostly green, the smoke which it created put us to the greatest pain and inconvenience. In addition to other causes of discomfort, Szechenyi's Albanians, with his dragoman and servants, whom he had directed to follow with the baggage, failed to make their appearance; and as the night wore on, we at last came to the conclusion that they must have fallen in with a superior force of the enemy, and been either taken, destroyed, or put to flight.

Not wishing to trust entirely to the vigilance of our videttes, we resolved to be on the alert, and relieve each other every two hours during the night—one of us constantly keeping watch, who, from time to time, visited the outposts and likewise kept up the fire, around which his comrades lay deeply buried in sleep—snoring in harmonious concert with the interesting creatures that, in the shape of bearded Arabs, filthy women and children, goats, calves, &c. lay scattered around in the most admired confusion of picturesque attitude and grouping.

The night passed off without an alarm: day-light at last dawned, but yet no appearance of the Albanians, whom we now gave up as lost;* therefore, after demolishing the remains of the calf, and washing it down with a draught of hot milk, I next gave the signal to "horse," which order being the expected prelude to a general retreat, was obeyed with the greatest alacrity.

* We afterwards learnt that these Arnaouts, not liking so near an approach to their old master, returned very quietly to Tiberias, taking with them Count Szechenyi's baggage, dragoman, and servants.

Great, however, was the surprise of my gallant troop when they learned that, instead of going homeward, they were instantly to proceed in the direction of El Mezerib. A mutiny was the immediate consequence; and Mahomed Aga, declaring it would be worse than madness to thrust ourselves thus into "Jehanum" (hell,) notwithstanding all my threats, refused to obey orders; in which he was, of course, imitated by all his Turkish followers, who immediately took their departure by the road we had come the previous day. Many of the Arabs pursued the same course, till at last Sheikh Achmet was left with half-a-dozen men, who, on our still persisting to proceed, accompanied us a short distance, but gradually sneaked off, one by one;—finally, leaving the party,—composed of our four selves, with my dragoman Giorgio (who proved game to the last,) and Hans, the Count's faithful German servant,—to reap all the honour and glory of defeating Ibrahim's forces, should we feel inclined to make the attempt!

All idea of pushing on in our present

condition was, of course, abandoned; but we determined, at least, to *see* something of the enemy ere we sounded a retreat, and went on with this determination, until in sight of the fortress of El Mezerib, which we could distinctly behold in the plain below, whilst here busily employed with our telescopes, a distant body of troops, winding up the side of a hill,—from which we were, however, separated by a deep ravine,—gave notice that it was time to depart—and with sorrow and disappointment at this unexpected failure of our project, we returned to Hareemy and held a council of war.

Szechenyi, who anxiously longed to try the temper of his long straight, cut-and-thrust claymore on the hides of the infidels, was nearly frantic with rage and disappointment. Hunter, closely wrapped up in a large Scotch plaid, to protect him against the freezing blast which wildly swept over the desolate expanse of this howling wilderness, said little, but looked very cold and philosophical; whilst old Laué, putting his back against the mud wall under whose lee

we had assembled for shelter against the cutting wind,—like Fitz-James, when he exclaims to his Highland foes—

> "Come one, come all! this rock shall fly
> From its firm base, as soon as I!"

averred his resolution of stopping where he was, until the actual and visible approach of the enemy. For my own part, as the period was fast drawing near when my force was to be ready at Naplouse, I determined on returning thither without loss of time; but as Szechenyi,—being now without an interpreter, and not speaking a word of Arabic,—would not be able to explain the nature of his mission to the leading people of these hills, it was agreed that I should, by deviating slightly from my own route, accompany him as far as the fort of Tibney, his intended head-quarters, where, having duly seen him installed in office, I should pursue my own course; and at last, after a great deal of persuasion, Captain Láué was induced to be of the party, and to give up his previous resolution of remaining at Hareemy.

For many miles our road lay along a high table-land, divested, not only of shrubs and trees, but, at this season of the year, likewise, of all signs of vegetation; the only objects that met our gaze, and broke through the monotony of this bleak and dreary expanse in the "Land of Gilead," being an occasional flock of gazelles, or now and then a deserted subterranean village, with, may be, a few broken sarcophagi scattered in front of those caves, at present no longer the abodes of either the living or the dead. Besides these records of antiquity, I remember our noticing another ancient peculiarity alluded to in Scripture,* viz., that of the mouth of the deep wells, cut through the rock, being "sealed" with a large stone—which, however, only served to protect water of a brackish taste and exceedingly bad quality.

At last, leaving this bare elevated plain, we struck into a more broken and wooded country, in the beginning partially covered with olive-plantations, which were succeeded

* Gen. xxix. 2. 8; Sol. Song, iv. 12.

by valonea oaks, some of them remarkable both for size and beauty; one noble tree, in particular, overshadowing the tomb of a "Santon," or saint, forcibly attracted our attention; like similar localities in India, the resting-place of some holy Fakeer, it had all its lower branches—widely spreading within a few feet of the ground,—adorned with small pieces of various-coloured rags, fastened there as mementos by the different pilgrims who had visited the spot.

The aspect of the country now grew gradually wilder and more wild, till at last, on approaching Tibney—a walled-in fort, situated amidst a chaos of wooded hills—it had assumed all the romantic grandeur of real mountain scenery. Our reception by the Adjelloun chiefs, whom we found here assembled, was cordial in the extreme. Count Szechenyi had to raise four hundred men in this district, with which he was to co-operate with me;* and the Sheikhs pro-

* Count Szechenyi succeeded in collecting his troops; and when Ibrahim, instead of crossing the Jordan at the bridge of Moïadjumah, took the road of the Desert, he

mised this should be done immediately;—they treated us with rude hospitality, and, amongst other ingredients of the plentiful feast prepared, were quantities of "wild honey,"* and some *butter*—the first specimen of the latter article I had yet seen in Syria.

January 3rd. After making a capital breakfast of honey, eggs, and milk, on taking leave of Capt. Laué and the Count, Mr. Hunter, Giorgio, and myself, with a couple of mounted saïces or grooms—the sad remnants of our late numerous escort,—left Tibney with two Arab horsemen to serve as guides; and, after a ride of about fifteen miles, over precipitous hills, and through deep valleys, finally reached the "Ghor," and came in sight of the Jordan, at a point nearly opposite to Bysan.

As we wended our way towards the river,

managed to bring these men of "Gilead" under fire, somewhere at the defiles about Djerash; one or two casualties happened on both sides, when they took to their heels, leaving the Count in the lurch.

* St. Matt. iii. 4.

through the underwood of nébek shrubs with which the Ghor was here covered, we saw large flocks of cattle grazing under their shade; our path was not, however, crossed by a single "roaring lion from the swelling of the Jordan;"* numerous small bright-coloured animals, like rats, with long bushy tails, which on our approach instantly dived into their burrows, being the only *wild* animals we noticed in our progress across the valley.

On reaching the banks of the Jordan, the volume of water it presented at this particular spot, induced us to halt, and whilst we were consulting on the best means of getting across, a commotion took place

* On the western bank of the Jordan we observed a plain level space, a little above the present bed of the river, but presenting the appearance of having been at some period covered with water, and separated from the rising ground towards Bysan by a steep bank.—At the "swelling of Jordan" alluded to by the Prophet, as the regular channel of the river was probably then not so deep as it is at present, the waters may have inundated the space above described, and driven from the thickets,—with which it is even now in some parts covered,—the wild beasts alluded to in the Scriptures.

amongst our horses; the one on which Giorgio was mounted, furiously attacking my charger; and in the ensuing combat, I received a blow in the face, which covered me with blood, nearly broke the under jaw, and knocked the better part of a couple of teeth down my throat,—so much for the far-famed gentleness and tractable qualities of Arab horses!

Whilst bandaging up the bleeding wound, a Bedouin happened to pass, who offered to conduct us to a neighbouring ford; and it was lucky that we had thus stumbled on a guide in our passage across the river;—the fordable part running in an oblique direction, and even there to such a depth, that the water, sometimes reaching our holster-pipes, occasionally took the horses off their legs.

On reaching the western bank of the Jordan I dismounted, and having cleansed, as well as I could, my blood-besmeared countenance with those pure waters, which erst had removed so many still deeper stains, we lost no time in proceeding to Bysan,

where our old friend, Sheikh Ali, received us with many "Mashallahs!" and expressions of sorrow and surprise; as, from the plight I was in, and our fugitive appearance, he concluded I had been wounded, and that all the troop had been destroyed by the Egyptians. We had much difficulty in persuading him to the contrary. He could not, however, refrain from moralizing on our forlorn condition, and after pointing out how much better it would be for me to settle down quietly at Bysan, eschewing for the future, all the toils and dangers of war and travel, the old man repeated his offer about the "Bint," his daughter; which, for the present, I was obliged to decline, but assured him, that at the conclusion of the campaign, if I could possibly manage it, I would return and pay him a visit, when we might talk the matter more leisurely over.

After giving our jaded steeds a feed of barley, and offering all that his humble abode contained, in the shape of "khobs" and curded milk, the hospitable old Sheikh, mounting his horse, offered to accompany us

to Jennin, about twenty miles distant, where we proposed passing the night; however, being overtaken by darkness in the plains of Esdraëlon, we were fain to turn into the Naplouse hills, and take up our quarters at a goatherd's cottage, in the small hamlet called Nouris.

January 4th. Up with dawn. Old Sheikh Ali safely conducted us through the hills to Jennin, and, with many professions of good will and friendship, took his leave, after putting us in the high road to Naplouse; where we arrived, without accident or adventure, the same evening.

The incidents of this expedition, I briefly summed up in the following letter to Lady Napier, written from Naplouse, January 4th, 1841 :—

"My dearest Mother,

"After being on a reconnoitering party for a week, in the enemy's country, during which I did not take off my clothes, and scarcely ever washed my face, I have returned to this place, to take the command

of 1500 savages, to oppose the retreat of Ibrahim Pasha. I am, thank God, in the enjoyment of capital health; but, until I got purified, a couple of hours ago, in a Turkish bath, was covered with vermin, from sleeping so long in the same garments amongst goats, cows, and Arabs. I have had all manner of adventures; amongst others, had part of a couple of teeth knocked down my throat yesterday, in a fight between two vicious horses, whilst crossing the Jordan, with the clear waters of which I washed out my mouth, and do not feel a bit the worse for the accident.

* * * *

"You must not expect any more from me to-night, as I have been all the evening scribbling despatches. I will try and get off some of my troops to-morrow; but these people are sad procrastinators. I am looking forward with delight to the prospect of going *regularly* to bed *undressed*, and am, *en attendant*, your ever affectionate son,

"E. N."

"*5th January.* I am just going to review a few of my wild Mountaineers.

* * * * *

"I mean to concentrate, as I collect them, at a bridge over the Jordan, near Lake Tiberias, where troops are pouring in from all parts, to defend it against Ibrahim Pasha,—who, I am now sure, is, nevertheless, going to retire very quietly by the Desert. I shall however, if possible, leave this to-night, in order to be at my post in case of accidents, and, if the powder I have sent for has arrived at the bridge, I mean to send the latter into the air. 'Tis a pity, too,—a fine old Roman structure,—but it cannot be helped.

"I forgot to mention that I advanced with my gallant Arab horsemen to within a few miles of the enemy, whom we reconnoitered; but here they all ran away and left me, with my interpreter Giorgio, an amateur warrior, Mr. Hunter, a young English traveller, and an old Prussian officer, who had volunteered to accompany me. The weather has been

bitter cold in the mountains,—the ice half an inch thick; and I am at this time writing beside a brazier filled with charcoal, though in a princely residence, compared to the caves and hovels we have of late been accustomed to. But we got used and reconciled to every inconvenience,—even to the vermin,—to all, except the smoke, which annoyed us much. Fancy, in a mud cabin, six feet by eight, three or four shivering wretches huddled together round a green wood fire, without any aperture, even windows, for the smoke to escape by, whilst it was too cold to open the door, and you may picture our situation; the only thing we could do was to lie close on the ground, and eat, drink, and sleep in that uncomfortable posture: as to dressing and washing, we were never guilty of such effeminacy. Tell * * * * they must not be angry if I don't write. I have not a moment to spare. Give them my love,—and believe me your own, "E. N.

"P.S. I have just this minute sent off a

couple of hundred as complete ruffians as ever disgraced Falstaff's ragged regiment. I took off my cocked-hat, and gave them three parting cheers, to which they responded with a terrific yell. I shall follow in a couple of hours. 'Tis all very good fun; but, at the same time, I know them,—whenever they are brought to the scratch,—to be the most arrant set of cowards that ever existed."

CHAP. XI.

A GALLOP ACROSS THE PLAINS OF ESDRAELON, ZEBULON, AND SHARON, FROM NAPLOUSE TO JAFFA.

"After him came, spurring hard,
A gentleman almost forspent with speed,
That stopp'd by me to breathe his bloodied horse;
Then, bending forward, struck his armed heels,
Against the panting sides of his poor jade,
Up to the rowel head; and, starting so,
He seem'd in running to devour the way."

HENRY IV.

OUR arrival at Naplouse was particularly well-timed. We found Solyman Abdul Hadi—probably owing to the wholesome advice I had lately given him—most gracious; and he informed us that the whole of my fifteen hundred men would be ready on the morrow, though some part of their number was to concentrate at Jennin, as being nearer their own immediate homes.

Having settled this important point, our

next care was to cleanse ourselves as much as possible from the accumulated filth and vermin collected during our late expedition; we all accordingly proceeded to the Hummaum, and never were the luxuries of that delicious restorer to the toilworn traveller, more highly felt and appreciated than by ourselves on that occasion. We long passively allowed our persons to be parboiled, steamed, kneaded, and rubbed down; till the perspiration streamed from the nearly naked bodies of the operators, and then after the customary pipe and cup of coffee, returned to the Seraglio, where a sumptuous feast awaited our arrival, with a soft divan, luxurious cushions, and rich quilted coverlets of Damascus silk, on which to repose in balmy forgetfulness of our past toils and hardships.

5th January.—After sending off my official despatches to General Michell and Selim Pasha, the Governor of Naplouse gave me intimation that the first detachment of my forces was ready paraded in the street below, and awaiting my commands to march off for Jennin.

I was still suffering considerable pain from the accident I had met with at the passage of the Jordan, and with my face bound up in a silk handkerchief, and a red woollen night cap on my head, I was descending to inspect the "forces," when Solyman Abdul Hadi, meeting me on the stairs, begged I would put on the "bournetta-é-kibir," as he denominated my cocked-hat, adding that such a "nishan," or honorary distinction would cause the Mountaineers to treat me with twice as much respect and obedience.

I accordingly pulled the plumed castor over the red "woollen," and never felt more convinced that "fine feathers" make fine birds, than from the effect produced on the assembled barbarians by my showy head gear, on witnessing which they set up a wild yell of approbation and delight, and vociferously demanded to be led without loss of time against the enemy.* These marks of

* Like most half civilized people, the Arab attaches great importance to outward show. As an instance of this the Author remembers on one occasion being in company with a Bedouin Sheikh, who after admiring

"popular applause" proceeded from about a couple of hundred wild, half-starved, ill-conditioned looking rascals,—who would have been considered a disgrace to the most disorderly rabble—armed—some with old rusty swords, others with weapons doing duty for fire-locks—whilst the major part were furnished with what in their hands were probably more dangerous implements, to wit:—formidable looking clubs and stout cudgels!

At this moment the thought occurred of the splendid figure I should make, at the head of these gentry, against the impetuous charge of Ibrahim's well-organized cavalry in the wide plains of Khan Younés!

the rest of the uniform and appointments, but particularly the staff cap and feather, expressed undisguised contempt at his sword, a common cavalry sabre with an old rusty steel scabbard. "Oh! Sheikh!" was the reply to his almost sneering remark on the subject, "hath not the sage justly said: 'It is not the embroidered garment that maketh true valour, but the heart which it covereth, neither is it the jewelled scymitar but the arm by which it is wielded.'" "Saïyah! be-rās! 'Tis true! on my head!" was the answer, and the Sheikh no longer despised the plain unassuming weapon.

However, moralizing was at present of no avail—therefore, responding to their howling by a wave of the hat, accompanied with three British cheers, and with directions for them to make the best of their road to Jennin, I started off this first nucleus of my army; and after getting away a few more detachments of a similar description, still accompanied by Mr. Hunter, who expressed a determination to see the end of the fun, I put myself en route to follow them, and arrived at Jennin late in the evening.

On proceeding here to the house of the Sheikh, I was not a little surprised to find that my old acquaintance, General Jochmus, had already there taken up his quarters, attended by Captain de L'Or, his aide-de-camp, who was much elated by numerous wonderful exploits he stated himself to have performed at the head of some irregular cavalry, on the rear of the retreating army of Ibrahim Pasha,—who, he said, had, in consequence of this, and the sufferings endured by cold and starvation, already lost as

many as ten thousand men since his departure from Damascus!

This was rather astounding intelligence—but I was no less surprised to hear that General Jochmus had taken upon himself, and without consulting me, on the subject—to remand all my Naplousian Mountaineers who had arrived during the day at Jennin, on the plea, that as it was now positively ascertained that Ibrahim was retiring by the desert, their services would be no longer required at the bridge of the Moïadjumah.

Jochmus was a good fellow,—I had known him before, at Constantinople, and under very different circumstances from those in which he was now placed as the Generalissimo of the Turkish forces—for such was the title he now assumed; but not considering myself in any way under his command, I hesitated not to tell him, pretty fully, my mind on the subject; however, concluding his information to be correct, I must confess, I was not sorry at having an opportunity of getting rid of my barbarians, and thereby being enabled to go immediately to what was

now more likely to become the scene of active operations.

Telling him, therefore, that since, in consequence of the step he had taken, I considered myself divested of my command, I would immediately start off for Acre, to report the circumstance to my commanding officer, General Michell; and wishing him joy at having added to his forces such a brilliant and efficient body of troops, I took my departure, and proceeded forthwith to carry my design into execution.

Leaving Giorgio with our attendants at Jennin, and accompanied only by my hardy and persevering fellow campaigner, Mr. Hunter, I, with much difficulty, at that late hour of the night, procured a guide,—by breaking into a house and dragging out the first unfortunate fellow I could lay hands on, whom, putting on a horse, with threats of blowing out his brains if he did not conduct us by the shortest road to Nazareth — we obliged "nolens volens" to proceed, and soon found ourselves, with a bright moon overhead, jogging along on our already jaded horses across

the wide plains of Esdraëlon. About four in the morning,—not without having had an occasional nap in the saddle,—we reached the convent gates of Nazareth, whose inmates were speedily roused up, and, after getting a cup of coffee, by daylight we were again "under weigh," on two sorry-looking jades which we had been forced to press into our service. Our own horses being too completely worn out to proceed any further, we left them in charge of my former jovial acquaintance, Padre Deodato, the Superior of the convent; who, even at that early hour, tendered us a "stirrup cup" of his capital liqueur ere we finally took our departure.

By dint of whip and spur we succeeded in getting our animals over the ground;—got safely out of the hills,—and the road over the Plain of Zebulon being as already described, tolerably good,—we were enabled to reach Acre about the hour of noon, on the 6th of January, 1841.

I here learned, to my great annoyance, that General Michell had started for Jaffa a couple of days before, at which place the Turk-

ish forces were now concentrating, with, it was said, the design of an immediate advance against Gaza—and wishing to be in time for anything which might be going on there —I obtained from Selim Pasha a "Bouyourdi" for post horses, and with my *fidus Achates*, was again in the saddle by 3 P. M.—and galloping along the sandy shore of the Bay of Acre, on our way to the small town of Caïpha, situated at the foot of Mount Carmel.

After crossing the Belus, famed as having given rise to the invention of glass,—and that "ancient river—the river Kishon,"*—both of which we found to be mere insignificant brooks, we came to the wreck of H. M. ship, Zebra, which had been driven ashore during the gale of wind of the 2nd December, and was now lying high and dry on the beach; whilst her stores, &c. were safely secured under the sails, now converted into tents for the crew, in a sort of neighbouring sand-built redoubt, over which floated the British Ensign, and where an English Marine was now placed on sentry—

* Judges v. 21.

who on our approach presented arms with as much military precision, as if at the dock-yard gates of Portsmouth or Chatham.

The small garrison of this pigmy fort was supplied with water by a cask being sunk in the sand, within a few yards of the beach, which, strange to say, formed a well, containing a plentiful supply of fresh water, whilst with the ship-provisions, abundance of game,—wild boar, gazelles, duck, teal, and snipe,—daily brought in by the officers; our jolly tars appeared to have been cast ashore amidst clover, and to lead, on the whole, a very happy sort of life.*

Not forgetting the friendly professions of my former acquaintance, Mr. Filippo Catafago, who resided generally at Caïpha;—on arriving at that place, completely exhausted, after having spent the greater part of the

* This lasted until that scourge of Syria, the Plague, broke out amongst them, and they communicated the disease to the crew of H.M.S. Castor, which took them off this pestilential coast. The latter ship was forced, subsequently, to undergo a complete fumigation at Malta, where she was kept for many weeks in strict quarantine.

last twenty-four hours on horseback, I pulled up at his door, nor did he belie his former friendly professions, for never was hospitality more frankly tendered, or more gratefully received, than on the present occasion.

From sheer exhaustion and fatigue we were now obliged to rest for a short time, but the first thing I did was to have recourse to my never-failing specific in similar cases, viz.: the "Hummaum"—from whence I issued perfectly refreshed, and ready for a new start. However, old Catafago insisted on our remaining under his roof for a few hours, and prepared us a capital supper, at which we were introduced to Madame Catafago, a portly Syrian dame of between forty and fifty, and also to his daughter and niece, both pretty girls, but the latter possessing the most dazzling pair of eyes I ever beheld, which the little rogue seemed perfectly aware of, and knew, moreover, how to turn to very good account.

Our party during the evening was increased by the addition of some of the officers

of the Zebra,—when seduced by the good cheer of our host, his own agreeable conversation, and the never-failing charms of female society, we prolonged our revels till late in the night—and after two or three hours' sleep, again, before daybreak, found ourselves on horseback, and as the earliest dawn appeared, were fast winding along under the rocks of Mount Carmel, to the cheering sound of its convent matin bells.

During such a flying visit,—as may be supposed,—we had little time to observe so celebrated a spot; but a brief notice of the locality, from the pen of one of the British Staff officers,* who was encamped for several months on this mountain, may not prove unacceptable to the reader:—my informant says: "We left Beyrout in the Phœnix steamer, for Mount Carmel, on the night of the 22nd of April, 1841, and arrived the following day—landed on the beach, with our tents near Caiffa, where the plague raged at the time—whilst our orders were to get fresh provisions from that town.

* Lieutenant-Colonel Alderson, of the Royal Engineers

"No medical man was with us, the party consisting of Lieutenant-Colonel Alderson, Lieutenants Skyring and Symonds, and Lieutenant-Colonel M'Niven, then *en route* for Naplouse. We were withdrawn from our encampment under Mount Carmel, at Elijah's Cave, to which place I had removed, on the 10th of July. By the Stromboli steamer was shortly afterwards sent down, at my particular request, Dr. Robertson, in consequence of fever having seized above half the detachment, which consisted, I think, of one serjeant, and twenty-three rank and file; four died before the Stromboli sailed from the bay, and four on board, before she arrived at Beyrout, whilst seven were sent into Hospital, none of whom died; but three were invalided, and four others taken with fever after we arrived. Dr. Robertson came to attend us on the 27th of May, and remained till a medical man, the Assistant-Surgeon of the Hecate, arrived to be permanently attached to our party.

* *

"As to the convent of Mount Carmel;—I

believe it contained a Superior and thirteen or fourteen monks. The present building is scarcely completed, and built certainly, I should say, under the superintendence of one of themselves. Fuller, in his History of the Holy War, gives the following account of their order: "The Carmelites were instituted by Almericus, Patriarch of Antioch, about the year 1160;—formerly they had lived dispersed about the mountain of Carmel—he gathered them together in one house. The order was afterwards perfected in the year 1216, by Albert, Patriarch of Jerusalem. They pretended to follow the pattern of Elias, wore white coats, guarded by red streaks, according to the rules of their order, were to ride on asses,—and, by the ordinance of Pope Nicholas V., had sisters of their company living near them;—Nicholas Gallus, their own general, complained that they lived in lust and laziness, and Gallus compared them to the tail of the Dragon.

"Afterwards, Pope Honorius III. caused them to wear only white coats. Melaxala, king of Egypt, formerly their friend, not

knowing them in their new habiliments, persecuted them out of Egypt."

Ralph Frieburg brought them to England in 1240, and they were established at Newenden, in Kent, where they flourished till the reign of Henry VIII., who sent them to the "right about," with all the other abbeys, &c.

"The fever at Carmel did not appear till the plague had ceased;—I do not know its nature,—but the men suffered at first from pain in the head, and on being relieved complained no more, but sank under it in a few days. S— will probably be able to give some information as to the Forest of Mount Carmel."*

The following short account of this locality was also obligingly furnished to me by another of the party, Lieutenant Symonds, of the Royal Engineers:—

"Mount Carmel, or Djébel Mar Elias, is an extensive range of hills, terminating abruptly to the westward, forming Cape Car-

* This wood, belonging to Mount Carmel, is called Δρομος by the Septuagint: and is also mentioned by Strabo, Book xvi. page 758; and in 2 Kings, xix. 23; and Isaiah xxviii. 24.

mel, which is 480 feet high, and rising gradually to the S.E. at which extremity it reaches a height of 1,606 feet, and bears the name of El Meheska, being the spot on which Elijah and the Prophets of Baal offered up sacrifice. There are some small very ancient ruins still to be seen, said to be the remains of the altar. At this end of the mountain, the soil is very rich and productive, and great quantities of tobacco, olives, grain, and grapes are cultivated, and it is thickly inhabited, principally by Druses. After leaving Essefia, or rather just over Belled-él-Sheikh it gets very barren, and preserves that character as far as the convent, where strong evidence of the fulfilment of, (I think,) Isaiah's prophecy is seen, as the rock is laid bare of soil. There is nothing to be called a wood on the mountain, nor indeed in any part of Palestine. The only position that has any pretension to such an appellation, is on the S.W. side of the Mount which is covered with thick underwood of dwarf pines and oaks, but no timber trees. The present convent is quite new, indeed it is hardly

finished—and occupied by a very worthy set of monks;—I suppose that, with their convent, their morals underwent a thorough reform. Kacoun is a small town in the plain, about five miles and a half from the foot of the Naplous range of mountains—it has a castle in its centre, and a few detached guns—but has no pretensions to being a fortress, or a place of any strength, and indeed, if it were, its situation makes it optional for an army to avoid it or not, at pleasure. Had Ibrahim retired by the plain of Esdraëlon, and had active troops, or even the mountaineers themselves, opposed him, he would have had to lay down his arms—for every outlet has its strong pass as at Jennin, Om El Facham, Wadi-el-Melch, Lanoun, &c. which are all impassable if decently defended. Once out of the Plain of Esdraëlon on the coast, there is nothing to check a retreat to the southward, but an advancing force going north could be most successfully opposed, about seven miles south of Tantoúra, at a place called Om el Alack, which stands on a cliff bounded east by Mount Carmel, west by an

extensive marsh, so that the only passable point for an army would be immediately on the coast, which forms a very narrow strip of land, and would be easily defended by a small land force, acting conjointly with shipping, where they would have to pass a river. I regret to say that I am much hurried, and fear that the above remarks will not be very intelligible."

* * * * *

On rounding the rocky promontory at the foot of Carmel, we entered on the plains of Sharon, and were now, probably, on the spot where the French, during their retreat from before Acre, suffered so severely by the fire of the English gun-boats, as described by Sir Sydney Smith, in his official letter, dated off Jaffa, 30th May, 1799:

"The utmost disorder has been manifested in the retreat, and the whole tract between Acre and Gaza is strewed with dead bodies of those who have sunk under fatigue, or the effects of slight wounds; such as could walk, unfortunately for them, not having been embarked. The rowing gun-boats annoyed the

van column of the retreating army, on its march along the beach; and the Arabs harassed its rear when it turned inland to avoid their fire. We observed the smoke of musketry from behind the sand-hills, from the attack of a party of Arabs who came down to our boats, and touched our flag with every token of reverence and respect. Ismael Pacha, Governor of Jerusalem, to whom notice was sent of Bonaparte's preparation for retreat, having entered this town (Jaffa), by land, at the same time that we brought our guns to bear on it by sea, a stop was put to the massacre and pillage already begun by the Naplousians. The English flag, re-hoisted on the Consul's house, (under which the Pacha met me,) serves as a asylum for all religions, and every description of the surviving inhabitants. The heaps of unburied Frenchmen, lying on the bodies of those whom they had massacred two months ago, afford another proof of Divine justice, which has caused these murderers to perish by the infection arising from their own atrocious act."

That this picture is not overcharged, is shewn by the following extract from a French authority :—

"A fearful journey," says one of the sufferers, "was yet before us. Some of the wounded were carried in litters, and the rest on camels and mules. A devouring thirst, the total want of water, an excessive heat, a fatiguing march among scorching sand hills, demoralized the men: a most cruel selfishness, the most unfeeling indifference, took place of every generous or humane sentiment. I have seen thrown from the litters officers with amputated limbs, whose conveyance had been ordered, and who had themselves given money as a recompense for the fatigue. I have beheld, abandoned along the wheat fields, soldiers who had lost their legs or arms, wounded men, and patients supposed to be affected with the plague. Our march was lighted up by torches, kindled for the purpose of setting on fire towns, hamlets, and the rich crops with which the earth was covered. The whole country was in flames. It seemed as if we

found a solace in this extent of mischief, for our own reverses and sufferings. We were surrounded only by the dying, by plunderers, by incendiaries. Wretched beings at the point of death, thrown by the wayside, continued to call with feeble voice, "I have not the plague, I am but wounded;" and to convince those that passed, they might be seen tearing open their real wounds or inflicting new ones. Nobody believed them. It was the interest of all not to believe. Comrades would say, "He is done for now; his march is over;" then pass on, look to themselves, and feel satisfied. The sun in all his splendour, under that beautiful sky, was obscured by the smoke of continual conflagrations. We had the sea on our right; on our left and behind us lay the desert which we had made; before were the sufferings and privations that awaited us."*

Probably, never was witnessed a more disastrous retreat than this, and never was the guilty ambition of one reckless man more severely visited on his followers. To fatigue, hunger, and thirst, were added constant

* Memoirs of Napoleon Bonaparte, vol. i. p. 168.

attacks from a barbarous and vindictive foe by land, whilst their flank was annoyed by the fire of our gun-boats following the retiring columns along the shore; all these horrors were increased by the more devastating, and, to a soldier, the more dreaded ravages of the plague, whilst the dead bodies of unburied Frenchmen, thickly strewed the whole long line of the sea-coast, exposed to the insults of their ruthless pursuers, and a prey to the beasts of the field and the fowls of the air.

"The scalps were in the wild dog's maw,
The hair was tangled round his jaw;
But close to the shore, on the edge of the gulf,
There sat a vulture flapping a wolf;
Who had stolen from the hills, but kept away,
Scar'd by the dogs from the human prey;
But he seiz'd on his share of a steed that lay
Pick'd by the birds on the sands of the bay."

In short, the Syrian Expedition cost France, not only the loss of upwards of ten thousand of her bravest soldiers, but also the proud motto of "Invincible," which till then had been inscribed on the banners of her legions.

* * * *

We were provided with a pair of strong active horses, and, on clearing the rocky

promontory, at the foot of Mount Carmel, as the road was good, and lay over a level surface, close to the sea-shore, we put our steeds on their mettle, and cantering gaily along over the ancient plains of Megiddo, soon reached the small village of Athlete, the "Castel Pelegrino" of the Crusaders; —where we beheld remains of a still more remote antiquity in the excavations cut out of the neighbouring rock, through which, in some places, the road, deeply channelled out, had been, with infinite labour, made to follow a direct and level course.

This place may be about twelve miles from Caïpha, and presents objects which would no doubt amply reward the researches of the antiquary. Indeed, the whole country we thus hastily passed over, abounded in objects of interest to which I had no time to give the attention they deserved. I hope, however, those extracts given in the notes, at the end of this volume, will afford the requisite information.

Proceeding at the same rapid pace for ten or twelve miles further, we came to Tontura,

(the Dor of Scripture) passing on the road, Colonel Bridgeman and his attendants, who were hastening after General Michell. At Tontura we had expected, by the help of Selim Pasha's "bouyourdi" to have been able to obtain a relay of horses; but, notwithstanding all our threats and entreaties, none were to be procured, and we were fain to proceed with the ones we had hitherto ridden, and which, from the pace we had come at, over the last twenty-five miles, were now beginning to exhibit considerable symptoms of distress; however, there being, as the Spaniard says, no "rimedio," we continued our route, without giving them time to get cold or stiff in "the harness."

Shortly after leaving Tontura, we began to overtake the Turkish columns on their way along the coast, to concentrate at Jaffa; it was the first time I had ever seen "Stamboulis" on a march, and I was not a little surprised at the good order they maintained, and at the small number of their stragglers.

Ten or twelve miles further, brought us in sight of the extensive ruins of Keysaryah,

the Cæsarea of Herod, and which, before his time, was called "Strato's tower." We had not leisure to examine these apparently splendid ruins, under whose venerable shade the Bedouin Arab was now reposing, whilst his flocks were grazing amidst prostrate columns, and sculptured marbles.*

After passing the ruins of Cæsarea, our pace was considerably slackened, not only from the distressed condition of our panting steeds, but from the nature of the road, which ran amongst the sand hills along the beach; and even at this comparatively cool and favourable period of the year, the Turkish soldiers painfully and with difficulty toiled through the moving sand, although now only enduring the heat of a Syrian winter's sun;—what, therefore, must have been the sufferings, on the same spot, of the unfortunate French army, when slowly creeping over this ground, during the burning months of May and June, amidst a multitude of cruel and barbarous foes,—who with a stern spirit of reprisal, ruthlessly

* See note at the end of this volume.

mutilated and murdered those poor wretches who fell into their hands, ere plague, pestilence, famine, thirst, or wounds, had, more happily for them, put an end to their manifold miseries. Horrors of every kind had, during that sad retreat, so accumulated on the heads of the survivors, as to destroy even an appearance of sympathy in the breasts of those who could still keep in the ranks,—and they would often turn into ridicule the poor staggering wretch, who, when once marked by the fatal hand of disease, tottered under its pressure, and reeled about like a drunken man—exciting thus the laughs and jeers of his unfeeling comrades.

After a considerable spell at this deep sandy work, the road struck inland to the village of Om Kaled, about fifty miles from Caïpha, and we were here obliged to sound a halt, as our horses could, literally, carry us no further; therefore dismounting, we with difficulty got some grain for the poor animals, with a draught of milk and some barley cake for ourselves; and, after many threats, the Sheikh of the village provided

us with a couple of ponies, on which we shifted our saddles, and, vaulting into them, once more put ourselves *en route*.

After leaving Om Kaled we entered a fine grazing country, of a most pleasing and verdant appearance. We were now well in the plains of Sharon. Dark Bedouin tents thickly dotted the horizon, whilst flocks of camels, cows, and buffaloes, were every where roaming about in search of pasture, and the green turf under our horses' feet, was thickly enamelled with beautiful flowers, many being of the bulbous species, whilst innumerable scarlet anemones fairly dazzled the sight by the vivid brilliancy of their rich colours.

Under various names these flowers have been noticed by nearly every traveller who has visited Palestine at the season when they are in bloom. Neret, who travelled here during the month of April, in the year 1713, calls them *tulips*—whilst Chateaubriand has the following passage on the subject: "The flowers which adorn this plain during the spring are, white and pink roses, the nar-

cissus, the anemone, white and yellow lilies, and a species of sweet smelling everlasting flower."

I did not see any of the *roses* above alluded to, nor had we indeed time to make very minute botanical or any other researches, but on recalling the words of the Song of Solomon: "I am the *rose* of Sharon and the *lily* of the valleys;" (chap. ii. 1), and "His lips are like *lilies* dropping sweet scented myrrh;" (chap. v. 13)—also, that the *lilies* are said to have been arrayed with more splendour than "Solomon in all his glory;" (St. Matt. vi. 28, 29)—I came to the conclusion that the bright scarlet anemone, which to this day adorns the plains of Sharon, must be the "lily of the valley" alluded to in the Scriptures.

Losing the beaten track, shortly after quitting Om Kaled, we got into some low marshy ground, surrounded by deep quagmires and stagnant waters, amidst which were growing tall gigantic rushes, bearing on their summits a canopy of fan-like leaves; these we at once (I know not how correctly)

put down as the ancient papyrus reed—as I think it is somewhere mentioned in one of the old authors, that such a plant once flourished in this part of the Holy Land.

We observed numerous traces of wild boars amidst these marshes, and they appeared, likewise, to contain abundance of snipe and water-fowl,—for the latter of which some Bedouins were lying in wait, concealed behind the rushes,—after having fastened, within the reach of their muskets, a tame duck or two, to act as decoys. These "sportsmen," whose well-stored preserves excited our envy, put us in the "way we should go." With not a little difficulty, we extricated ourselves from ground so ill-adapted to any expeditious movements of cavalry, and getting again on the sea-shore, at a small place called Hareem, now briskly cantered for many miles along a fine sandy beach, and entered the town of Jaffa, at five P.M., on the 7th of January,—having gone over, within the last forty-eight hours,

and with only four relays of horses, no less than one hundred and sixty miles of ground.

I found General Michell quartered at the Latin convent with a few officers of our staff, together with Captain Houstoun Stewart, of H.M.S. Benbow. The former, supposing me still in the Naplóuse hills, was not a little surprised at my unexpected arrival. With the exception of an interview of a few seconds at Beyrout, it was the first time I had ever seen this gallant old soldier, but his reception was kind and cordial in the extreme. He was pleased to approve, (as he had already on several previous occasions done in his official letters,) of all my proceedings, promised me a warm berth in the projected attack upon Gaza, said that, in the mean time, he would cut out some work for me, and finally,—it being the hour of dinner, — he invited me to partake of their fare, and to consider his table as my own mess, as long as we were together at Jaffa.

In short, the encomiums I had always

heard bestowed on General Michell, appeared to me to be fully deserved.* His manners were those of an open-hearted, frank old soldier—in person he was small, and stooped much, from the effects of a severe wound received in former days—yet there was that in his clear penetrating eye, which marked the known attributes belonging to the man,—that firmness, activity, and energy of character, which, had he been spared, might have rendered him a leading character in the service, of which, even then, he was one of the brightest ornaments.

In addition to the British military and naval men, (for H.M.S. Dido was then anchored off Jaffa,) assembled at the General's table, were two Turkish officers: Reschid Pasha of Tophâna, and Omar Pasha. The former, although educated in France, was a dull, heavy Turk, in every sense of the word,—who endeavoured to conceal his stupidity under a solemn gait—a

* See a notice of the character and death of General Michell, by Lieut.-Colonel Alderson, in Commodore Napier's "War in Syria," Vol. II. chap. xii.

grandiose pomposity of manner, and who, I afterwards found, united to all the vices of the genuine Osmanli of the old school, many additional ones which he had picked up in the "Land of the Gaul."

Omar Pasha, who, whilst holding the rank of Bey, had distinguished himself under Commodore Napier, at the action of Boharsef, and has since played so conspicuous a part as Governor of Mount Lebanon, possessed much the advantage of his companion, both in manners and appearance. Originally a Christian, and, I believe, a native of Trieste, he had, on entering the service of the Porte, become a convert to Islamism, but now,—in his present high rank,—never forgot the courteous manners, or gentleman-like demeanour, so seldom the attributes of a Turk in power,—and in which he from infancy had been brought up. Omar Pasha spoke with fluency both German and Italian, was most agreeable in his manners, and had the reputation of being a good officer—in fact, one of the very few his Imperial Majesty the Sultan,

possessed, who knew his duty, or any thing besides smoking a chibouque, and a few other Eastern accomplishments, with the enumeration of which we will not trouble the reader, but in which,—as is now pretty well known,—the moral and faithful subjects of "His Sublimity" so greatly excel.

After having so long associated with the barbarous hordes of the Desert and the Mountain, the mud floor of a hovel doing duty for "mahogany," and fingers acting as substitutes for knives, forks, and spoons, I was now placed in rather a novel situation,—as, seated like a gentleman, (though certainly far from resembling one, either in dress or appearance,) in the convent refectory, on a *chair*, with my legs under a table, which was, moreover, covered with a clean cloth and European appointments and conveniences;—I, long after the rest had ceased operations, continued to make the most vigorous attacks on the savoury dishes provided by the friars, and to take long pulls at the good Cyprus wine, from the vaults of their well-stored cellars.

In short, my voracious appetite and uncouth appearance excited general mirth, into which,—as soon as I had leisure, after assuaging the pangs of hunger,—I myself fully entered; and, borrowing a shirt from one, and a pair of stockings from another, being moreover convinced that a copious ablution would be most desirable on many accounts, I proceeded to the bath; with my new acquaintances, the Turkish officers, and afterwards took up quarters with Omar Pasha, who, on the Commodore's account, shewed me every civility and attention in his power.

During the three or four subsequent days we remained at Jaffa, I had an opportunity of seeing nearly everything worthy of attention in that place, which has, at different periods, played no unimportant part in the drama of Syrian history.

Jaffa, the ancient Joppa, is celebrated both in Scripture and in Mythology; in the latter, it is said to have been from a rock in the harbour, opposite the town, that Perseus delivered the fair Andromeda, after slaying

the sea monster which was about to devour her.* Tradition also assigns this as the place from whence Noah embarked in the ark; from hence also the Prophet Jonah took his departure; and here the fleets of Hiram king of Tyre landed the cedars with which Solomon constructed his Temple.

Before the appearance of the Romans in Asia, Joppa had passed from its Philistine owners into the hands of the Assyrians, who were in turn succeeded by the Persians, Macedonians, Egyptians, and Syrians. It was destroyed by Judas Maccabeus, but the city was again rebuilt; St. Peter, subsequently resided here in the house of Simon the tanner: shortly afterwards Joppa was taken and plundered by Vespasian. At a later period,—in the Crusades,—it became a theatre for the exploits of Saladin, and

* "Now Joppa is not naturally a haven, for it ends in a rough shore, when all the rest of it is straight, but the two ends bend towards each other, where there are deep precipices and great stones that jet out into the sea, and where the chains wherewith Andromeda was bound have left their footsteps, which attest to the antiquity of that fable."—*Josephus Jewish War*, b. iii. c. 9.

Richard of England, and during the brief existence of the kingdom of Jerusalem was governed by the "Counts of Jaffa." Jaffa was, in the spring of 1799, taken by the French, and remained in their possession for forty days, during which time they are said to have plundered and robbed the inhabitants with the most unbridled license; but regarding the two principal events which marked its occupation by Bonaparte, viz.: the poisoning of the sick, and the massacre of the Turkish prisoners, I shall make no comments, merely referring the reader to an extract from the narrative of Dr. Wittman, who visited the place a very few months after the occurrence of these events, whilst belonging to the mission under General Koehler, which in 1798 was sent from England, and attached to the Turkish army on much the same footing with that of the late British force in Syria under General Michell.*

The town of Jaffa stands on a rather elevated eminence, surmounted by a citadel, and upon that declivity of the slope, towards

* Vide Appendix.

the sea, the houses,—high and massively constructed of stone,—rise one above another like the steps of an amphitheatre, and are approached by steep flights of stairs, leading to narrow lanes or passages, which in parallel lines run along their base.

Although Jaffa presents the usual scenes of filth peculiar to an oriental city, its neighbourhood is very beautiful; the wide plains of Sharon stretching far to the north, are amply stocked with every sort of game, whilst, to the eastward, are those ever verdant gardens for which this place has always been celebrated,—forming, by their cooling and luxuriant foliage, a strong contrast to the scorched and desert-like appearance of the sand-hills which lie to the southward of the town, and which were the scene of the inhuman massacre before alluded to.

In visiting all these localities, with an occasional trip on board the Dido, I was fully employed, and had little leisure on my hands; however, one afternoon, whilst smoking a chibouque on the terrace of my quarters, which commanded a fine view of the har-

bour, I was hailed in a soft, though northern accent, and on looking down, beheld a well-dressed and pretty European female, whose origin was evidently from beyond the Tweed, and who asked if I "kenned" the way to the house of Simon the tanner?

I replied by inviting the lady to enter my quarters, and after giving her a cup of coffee,—though she had the ill manners to refuse the proffered chibouque,—I learnt that her name was Mrs. M——, that her husband commanded a small merchant craft then lying in the roadstead, and whilst he had come ashore in quest of fresh stock, his better half,—who appeared in her own way to be a bit of a blue stocking,—was making the most of her visit, by seeing all the "lions" of the place.

It was the first time she had e'er set foot in the "Land of the East," and she was consequently exceedingly struck with every thing she beheld—and accepted, with delight, an offer I made to get her introduced into the Hareem of mine host, who happened

to be a Mussulman, and immediately acceded to the lady's request.

She was much pleased with her reception there, and it being the day when the public hummaums were appropriated for the exclusive use of the women, she also accompanied thither her new acquaintances. After having been absent for a considerable time, she at last returned,—pale, apparently very much agitated, and, protesting that nothing should ever induce her to visit again such a place,—requested I would send somebody to accompany her to the boat which waited at the pier. I politely tendered my services, and, on the way, endeavoured to find out what she had seen or encountered to discompose her so very much; she, however, obstinately refused to satisfy my curiosity, only remarking, that what she had there witnessed, and the shameless manner in which the Turkish women had conducted themselves towards her, was not to be recounted, even to the "gude man" himself;—from whence I came to the conclusion that, notwithstanding all Russell,

in his account of Aleppo, avers to the contrary,—Lady Wortley Montague's well known description of the interior of a female hummaum, may be more true than is generally imagined; for although many European ladies have since then visited these fashionable lounges and places of recreation for the fair sex in the East, they may not have recounted all they beheld there, with the unblushing sincerity and candour of our observant ambassadress at Constantinople.

* * * * * *

Nearly the whole of the Turkish army had now been concentrated at Jaffa, Ramlah, and Jerusalem, and only awaited the arrival of General Jochmus to advance on Gaza; under these circumstances, on the 11th of January, I received the following instructions from General Michell:—

"It being desirable that a staff officer of activity, energy, and intelligence should accompany the Turkish corps d'Armée now in advance at Ramlah, the Brigadier-general avails himself of the offer which you have

made of your services, and of your assistance to Omar Pasha, and requests you will repair to his head-quarters this day, and report, on every favourable occasion, whatever you may learn as to the positions and movements of the Egyptians, as well as all intelligence of importance as to the state of the country.

"EDWARD MICHELL,

"Brigadier-General."

"To Major Napier, Ass^{t}. Adj^{t}. Gen^{l}., &c. &c.
"Jaffa, 11th January, 1841."

As Giorgio had arrived the previous day from Jennin with my horses and attendants,—for baggage I had now little or none,—I lost no time in proceeding to my destination, and supped the same evening with Omar Pasha, at Ramlah, where I found assembled a Turkish force of between two and three thousand men, and eight pieces of field artillery.

CHAP. XII.

A FEW DAYS WITH THE TURKISH ARMY AT JERUSALEM, JERICHO, AND HEBRON.—RETURN TO JAFFA, AND EMBARKATION FROM GAZA.

"And still fought on by *Ibrahim's* side,
Who fronting to the foe—trod back
Tow'rds the high towers, his gory track;
And, as a lion swept away
By sudden swell of Jordan's pride,
From the wild covert where he lay,
Long battles with th' o'erwhelming tide,"—

LALLA ROOKH.

THE whole of the Turkish forces concentrated in the south of Syria, might have amounted to about twenty thousand men—distributed as follows:—At Jerusalem, Jaffa, and Rāmlah, twenty-one battalions of regular infantry, each battalion consisting of five hundred men, with eighteen field-pieces. To the south of Jaffa, three thousand, five hundred regular cavalry; at Hebron, three

thousand irregular horse, composed of the Desert tribes, whilst the Emir Beschir was daily expected with three thousand Mountaineers from his territories in the Lebanon.

January 12th. Omar Pasha had agreed, the evening before, to let me have a sight of his brigade under arms;—I had never yet seen the Turks manœuvred, and was anxiously preparing for the expected parade, when fresh instructions arrived from General Michell, directing me to proceed to Jerusalem with Reschid Pasha, who was on his way thither, as "Chef d'Etat Major," to the left column of the army, consisting of twelve battalions of regular Turkish infantry, and a dozen field-pieces, under the command of Hassan Pasha; having orders to effect a junction with Omar Pasha's troops, on the projected advance to Gaza.

Our party, composed of Reschid Pasha, his Staff and numerous suite, Mr. Hunter, and myself, with several pilgrims and friars, who availed themselves of our escort for

protection,—accordingly left Rāmlāh, early on the 12th of January, and proceeded without interruption till about half way to Jerusalem; when, on arriving at a most inviting looking spring, which issued from under the shade of some thick trees, a jovial Spanish friar from the Franciscan Convent at Jaffa, intimated that one of the led mules belonging to his party was loaded with provisions and wine, which was perfectly at our disposal, should we feel inclined to partake of a repast "al fresco." This hint was not to be thrown away, and we accordingly dismounted. The Friar's stores were produced, and proved excellent, as did likewise the Cyprus wine he broached on the occasion, and which Reschid Pasha and his Staff disdained not to partake of, in spite of the injunctions of the Prophet; and our "pic-nic," though composed of such apparently discordant materials, as holy pilgrims, godly monks, heretics, and infidels, was concluded in the greatest harmony,—with entire satisfaction to all parties,—and

we came to the conclusion that friars were very capital fellows, and, moreover, made excellent Commissaries-General on a march.

It was late in the evening ere we reached Jerusalem; Captain Laué and Count Szechenyi had likewise just arrived there from the Adjelloun hills; and, after supping together at the Franciscan Convent, and learning all their adventures,* since we had last parted, I went to the Jewish quarter, and took up my billet with the old Israelite, Giuseppe Zachariah.

January 13th. Captain Laué, Count Szechenyi, and myself were invited to attend a *Conseil de guerre*, held at Hassan Pasha's quarters, where we found Reschid Pasha and Osman Aga.

According to the last accounts from Alexandria, in consequence of the negociations opened by Captain Fanshawe with Mehemet Ali being still pending, and grant-

* As has been already stated, after the Count had succeeded in bringing his Mounta neers to the "scratch," they all "bolted," leaving him to escape as he best could.

ing a request of the latter, that the Egyptian steamers might go off Gaza to embark the sick, the women and children, belonging to Ibrahim's army, General Michell had expressed himself highly averse to the proposed attack upon Gaza. Sir Robert Stopford's instructions to Captain Houstoun Stewart were also to the same purport;* as any act of hostility, at that moment, might, under present circumstances, have been construed into a breach of faith on the part of the British.

However, *this* was a very secondary consideration with the Turkish authorities,—they fancied that Ibrahim's army was completely broken, and that they could now with impunity, "pluck the dead lion by the beard." They were, moreover, urged on to this laudable undertaking by Lord Ponsonby; and General Jochmus, anxious to signalize his command by, at least, some little show of fighting, had concocted this "grand" enterprise of attacking, with the whole

* Vide correspondence on the subject, in Commodore Napier's "Syria," Vol. II. chap. viii.

Turkish force, the town of Gaza, an open place, defended by a garrison of at most three thousand Egyptians; hoping thereby to intercept, and have at his mercy, the once redoubted Ibrahim, who, on the faith of treaties, was now marching thither.

It was soon evident that Hassan Pasha, although nominally commanding officer, was a mere cipher, Osman Aga an old woman, and that Reschid was at present the directing man. He decided upon leaving about two thousand troops to garrison the town of Jerusalem, and with the remaining eight battalions of our force, and all the field artillery, to advance next day, and form a junction with Omar Pasha, whom he calculated on joining after a couple of days march, at Medjdel, (near the ancient Ashdod or Azotus,) a small place situated near the plains of Sharon, between Ja'ffa and Gaza.

On inquiring if the Turkish troops were accustomed to the formation of squares, in the event of our meeting with any of the enemy's force, composed chiefly of cavalry,—I was assured that they were perfectly well

drilled in every manœuvre;* however, both Capt. Laué and myself were of opinion that our flank had better be protected by moving as far as practicable along the right bank of the river of Ascalon; and that for farther security, on entering the plain of Sharon, our march should be conducted in quarter distance columns of divisions, ready at a minute to resist any attempt of Ibrahim's much dreaded regular cavalry. These suggestions being agreed to, I proposed, as it was still early, having a field day to practise, for a few hours, our order of march, and the formation of squares; however, this was voted quite superfluous, the Turks took to their pipes, and we, to kill time, rambled about and explored afresh the town of Jerusalem and its environs.

14*th January*. The *European* party met early in the morning at the Franciscan Convent; when, after breakfast, we went to stir

* The author has every reason to doubt the correctness of this assurance, as he on no occasion, could ever induce a Turkish officer to go through a field day, not even with a single battalion.

up the "Chef de l'Etat Major," as Capt. Laué observed that it was very probable that those "sacrés Turcs," would be smoking their pipes instead of making any arrangements to march. Nor was he far wrong in his conjecture, for we had the greatest difficulty in getting them on the move, and it was long after noon ere their rear-guard filed under the portico of the gate of Bethlehem, and that the whole force was finally on the road to Jaffa, which direction we had to pursue during the commencement of the route.

This was the first time I had ever accompanied Turkish soldiers; I found them capital marchers, sober and obedient, and in many respects reminding me much of our Indian sepoys. Their dress consisted of a red fez, a dark green shell-jacket and trousers, which, being made after the European fashion, set off to anything but advantage their, generally speaking, short, ill made, and clumsy persons. If I remember right, they were unprovided with cartridge boxes, but carried their ammunition in broad lea-

thern belts, fastened round the waist, and in addition to their arms and accoutrements, each man was provided with a sack which, strapped across one shoulder, and thrown over the back, served also for a blanket, and contained two or three days provisions, consisting only of a few beans and olives, and a little bad biscuit. The road lying through these mountains being quite impracticable for wheeled carriages,* the field pieces were carried on the backs of camels, which kept

* Such a thing is nowhere at present seen in Syria, not even those rude cars employed in Asia Minor, for agricultural purposes, are known here. That the roads in this country were formerly in a much better state, we are informed by Josephus, who in B. 8. c. 7. says:— "So he (Solomon) did not neglect the care of the ways, but he laid a [illegible] of black stone along the roads, that led to Jerusalem, * * * * * * and so multiplied cedar trees in the plains of Judea which did not grow there before, that they were like the multitude of common sycamore trees."

The same author likewise makes frequent mention of chariots and other wheeled carriages being then in use, which circumstance is likewise often alluded to in the Scriptures.

The circumstance of elephants being then employed in warfare, is also mentioned by the Jewish historian. Vide Appendix.

up with the force in capital style, considering the rocky and mountainous nature of the ground they had to go over.

We had not proceeded above four or five miles, and the lengthened column was slowly winding through the valley of Elah, when a messenger overtook us with despatches from Osman Aga, requesting our instant return, as he had received positive intelligence that Ibrahim had that morning crossed the Jordan, and was on his march to invest Jerusalem.

At this most unexpected intelligence, a halt was immediately sounded, chibouques were lighted, and carpets being spread under the shade of some neighbouring lemon trees, (for a Turk can do nothing unless seated on his hams, with a pipe in his mouth,) a consultation was immediately held; when, after due deliberation, and a vast expenditure of tobacco smoke, it was at last resolved,—in giving credence to Osman Aga's report, and making some allowance for the weak state of that old man's nervous system, which caused him to take alarm at the least shadow of

danger,—not to retrace our steps till the news should be confirmed, and in the mean time to proceed as far as Abougosh, where we were to halt for the night, during the course of which, should the old Governor's apprehensions prove well founded, we were early the following morning to march back to Jerusalem, and endeavour to put the place in the best possible state of defence, ere Ibrahim should have time to approach it.

We were placed on the whole in rather an awkward situation,—for, on the one hand, if we delayed our junction with Omar Pasha, we endangered his portion of the force, which might be then attacked by the garrison of Gaza; and on the other, in prosecuting our original intention, (supposing Ibrahim to have crossed the Jordan), we were leaving in our rear an important post,—which being but feebly garrisoned, and with scarcely any defensive means, was likely to fall into the immediate possession of the enemy.

With the usual foresight of the Turks, we had come unprovided with camp equi-

page of any sort, not possessing so much as an hospital tent, nor am I aware of there even being a single medical man attached to the whole force. In these mountains, during that inclement season of the year, the cold at night was intense—and, to add to the enviable situation of our men, a heavy rain commenced falling, and soon poured down in torrents—in the midst of which, under the scanty shelter afforded by a few olive-trees, the column piled arms—and having lit their fires, and placed their sentries,—for they—wonderful to relate—*did* take that precaution,—bivouacked for the night, whilst ourselves and the rest of the staff, were fortunate enough to find good quarters, in the house belonging to the Sheikh of Abougosh.

The first thing we did was to send despatches to head-quarters, with which Reschid Pasha entrusted his aide-de-camp, Selim Bey—a promising young officer, who had spent several years in England, and had, I believe, been educated at the Military Academy of Woolwich. Next, after having dried our clothes and looked to the commis-

sariat department, we lay down to enjoy a little rest, which in all probability might soon be interrupted; but, although nothing further could be done until fresh intelligence arrived from Jerusalem, the "Chef de l'Etat Major" felt so uneasy, that he kept us awake during the greater part of the night, and about three in the morning a second message arrived from Osman Aga, confirming all the former accounts, and with the most pressing entreaties for our instant return to Jerusalem.

This last appeal removed all doubts as to the course we should pursue, and after despatching a second aide-de-camp, to Jaffa with the information of what we had now resolved upon, as soon as daylight appeared on the morning of the 15th, the bugles sounding the fall in, our troops sprang up from their couches on the damp bosom of mother earth,—and after shaking themselves like Newfoundland dogs, unpiled arms, and were soon stepping out, through a drizzling rain, towards the Holy City, apparently unharmed by their trying

and severe exposure of the former night to both wet and cold.

Anxious to get back to Jerusalem to take immediate steps for its defence, Reschid Pasha and our party spurred on past the Turkish columns; and full of the intention of rivalling Tasso, by furnishing materials for a poem to be entitled "Jerusalem Preserved," we lost no time, after entering the town, in going round its entire circuit, in order to observe the capabilities it might possess of resisting a *coup de main*, and to form a few necessary arrangements for arming and manning the walls, which, built by Solyman the son of Selim, although of a sufficiently massive construction to resist the fire of light field-pieces, could never withstand a regular attack with heavy artillery, particularly from the north* and west, where approaches could easily be made; and the spot known as the Grotto of Jeremiah, near

* As far as is known, all the armies that have conquered Jerusalem have made their attacks from this quarter, where the ground outside the walls is more nearly on a level with the interior than any other part.

the Damascus gate,—an elevated mound,—would afford shelter to the assailants within fifty yards of the wall, which, unprovided, in any part, with a ditch, is not at this place above twenty feet in height.

Jerusalem is, besides, completely commanded from the Mount of Olives, and however prolonged a defence it may have made on several former occasions, before the knowledge of gunpowder—with the present aid of "villanous saltpetre," it was evident, to the most unpractised eye, that it could never for a single week withstand a regular siege,—but for such Ibrahim had neither time nor means at his disposal,—and all we had to guard against from him, was an attempt at capture by a sudden *coup de main*, the very prospect of which had already caused the greatest consternation amongst the inhabitants, to whom we might now appropriately have addressed the words of Aladdin :—

—— "Ognun s' affretti, e l'arme prenda
Ecco il nemico è quì : mira la polve

Che sotto orrida nebbia il cielo involve.

"I semplici fanciulli e i vecchj inermi
E'l volgo delle donne sbigottite,
Che non sanno ferir nè fare schermi,
Traçan supplici e mesti alle meschite.
Gli altri di membra e d'animo piu fermi
Già frettolosi l'arme avean rapite.
Accorre altri alle porte, altri alle mura :
Il re va intorno e'l tutto vede e cura."*

TASSO, Vol. 1. C. 3.

A parapet ran along the whole of the interior circuit of the walls, the extent of

---

*"Rise, rise, ye citizens ! your gates defend:
Haste, snatch your weapons and the walls ascend!
Behold the foe at hand ! he said, and ceas'd :
The pagans heard, and snatch'd their arms in haste.
The helpless children, and the female train,
With feeble age, that could not arms sustain,
Pale and affrighted to the mosques repair,
And humbly supplicate the pow'rs with prayer.
But those of limbs robust, and firm of soul,
Already arm'd, impatient of control,
Part line the gates, and part ascend the wall :
The king with care provides, and orders all :
From place to place he marshall'd every crew,
Then to the summit of the tower withdrew,
For hence in prospect lay the subject-lands,
For hence he could with ease direct the bands."

HOOLE'S TRANSLATION.

which we discovered to correspond exactly with the account given by Maundrell, who measured and found it to be 4630 paces, or 4400 yards, ($2\frac{1}{2}$ miles) viz :—

	PACES.
From Bethlehem gate to the corner on the right hand	400
From do. to Damascus gate	680
To Herod's gate	380
Jeremiah's prison	150
To next corner opposite the valley of Jehoshaphat	225
To St. Stephen's gate	385
Golden gate	240
To corner of wall	380
To Dung gate	470
To Sion gate	605
To corner of wall	215
To Bethlehem gate	500
Total	4630*

After passing above St. Stephen's gate, we came to that part of the battlements facing one side of the enclosure of the Temple of Solomon; the guardians of the holy

* Josephus, in Jewish War, b. v. c. 4., states the whole compass of the city to have been thirty-three furlongs.

precincts at first protested strongly against my proceeding a step further, no Giaour, being, on any pretext, allowed to profane with his footsteps so sacred a shrine. However, Reschid Pasha had been brought up to some purpose in France; he appeared to have as much deference for this prohibition, as for that against the juice of the grape;—a wave of the hand overcame all opposition, and Laué, Szechenyi, and myself now performed an exploit, which probably no Christian ever before had the opportunity of doing: viz. that of going through, unmolested,—if not the temple itself,—at least its immediate precincts.

After passing the building called the "Throne of Solomon," we went *over*, though we did not get through the Golden gate,* about 350 paces from which the wall, hitherto running north and south, takes a sudden bend to the west; at a point where is said to be the entrance to a spacious subterranean vault, which, in that part of

* This gate, as I have before said, is carefully walled up.

Tasso where the Enchanter guides Solyman into the city, is thus alluded to by the poet:—

"Where Sion's hill that here begins to rise
Turns its broad back against the Western skies,
Th' Enchanter stay'd; and now, advancing nigh,
Explor'd the steepy side with heedful eye:
A hollow cavern open'd in the stone
A darksome pass, in former ages known,
But now with weeds and brambles overgrown:
Through this the Sorcerer soon the passage try'd,
And held his better hand the Prince to guide."
HOOLE'S TRANSLATION OF TASSO, B. x. L. 197.

About 170 paces from this point, the wall, now running due east and west, presented, near the mosque of El Aksa,* a wide practicable breach, of easy ascent, which, formed by the earthquake in 1834, had been suffered [illegible] to remain in its present dilapidated condition.

Immediate directions were given to have

* The "D'jama el Aksa" was formerly the church of the Virgin, constructed by Justinian, and of which a long account is given by Procopius. It was, by king Baldwin, assigned as the first residence of that order of military Monks, who thence derived their title of "Knights Templars."

this gap closed, and a breastwork thrown up, as, from the nature of the ground, it presented an easy approach to an enemy, from the Valley of Jehoshaphat below.

Having completed the survey of the walls, we adjourned to Hassan Pasha's quarters, to consult on what was next best to be done. The heavy rain still continued to fall, and as the Jordan must have been thereby greatly swelled, and consequently the difficulty of its passage increased, I thought it probable that, if Ibrahim Pasha had really crossed, the chances were that it was with a number inferior to our own troops, that his men would moreover be probably in a distressed condition, and that therefore we ought to advance without any loss of time, and attack him whilst his army was still divided, fatigued, and in want of provisions. Capt. Laué strongly seconded me in this, but the Turks were not to be persuaded to take such a decided step, and we separated without having come to any fixed resolution; though intelligence was hourly pouring in of the Egyptians, who, after passing the Jordan, were

now said to be bivouacked near Riha, the ancient Jericho.

In the course of the day an Arab came in *en chemise*, in which state he said he had escaped from Jericho, after having been taken, plundered, and stripped by the Egyptians, and questioned by Ibrahim Pasha himself. This man corroborated the former statements that not more than three thousand Egyptians were on this side of the river, and that they had, moreover, lost great numbers in their passage across; the over-cautious Turks were, however, afraid that this was an emissary of Ibrahim Pasha, and that the latter was laying a trap to ensnare them. Reschid Pasha still obstinately refused to move forward our troops; but late at night it was determined that, with a small body of cavalry, we should, next morning, push on and make a reconnoissance on the enemy.

16*th January*.—The party, consisting of Reschid Pacha, Captain Laué, Count Szechenyi, and myself, with thirty or forty irregular horse, and preceded by the poor creature who had conveyed our last informa-

tion,—and who, still in his scanty costume, was placed on a mule, and well guarded by a couple of troopers, to prevent any possibility of treachery or escape—issuing early from St. Stephen's gate, crossed the Kedron, and skirting the Mount of Olives, and village of Bethany, soon found ourselves in the deep valley beyond, and shortly watered our horses at the fountain pointed out as the spot where our Saviour was wont, with the apostles, to repose on his way to and from Jericho.

Shortly after passing the Fountain of the Apostles, we fell in with some deserters from the Egyptian army, in a most miserable plight; after having effected their escape, they had been plundered by the Bedouins, and now appeared in a shocking state of starvation, misery, and destitution, and with scarce enough clothing to serve the purposes of decency;—however, this also was removed ere they were allowed to pass on, in order to ascertain whether they were the bearers of any papers from the enemy,—the soles of their shoes were even ripped open, but no signs of treachery being discovered, the poor

shivering wretches were again invested with their scanty garments, and allowed to proceed towards Jerusalem. As we went on, we continued to meet numerous parties similarly circumstanced, who now all concurred in stating, that after having burnt the village of Rihā, Ibrahim had returned towards the Jordan, with, it was supposed, the intention of re-crossing it,—and Count Szechenyi now left us, in order to carry back this important intelligence to Jerusalem.

The road,—which, from occasional vestiges of ancient pavement, seemed to be the remains of an old Roman causeway,—ran for several miles along a narrow valley, bounded, on each side, by hills of an appearance remarkably sterile and barren; not a tree or shrub was to be seen; nought, save bare, grey rocks, with a little stunted herbage sparingly shooting forth out of the clefts and interstices between them; on emerging from this desolate valley, and crowning a steep ascent, near the ruined remains of an old castle—probably the spot where Sir Frederick Henniker was, a few years ago,

attacked and nearly murdered by a party of Bedouin plunderers;—the magnificent view of the valley of the Jordan suddenly burst on our sight, and amply repaid us for all our toil and trouble. In order to give the reader some idea of this magnificent scene, the following graphic account is borrowed from a late French author:—

"Never can I forget the first view of this wonderful valley from the hill above the Dead Sea; the eye shoots over one of those vast, rich, champaign landscapes, in the delineation of which Rubens used to combine such wideness of range with richness of detail—but alas! on approaching, not a living soul is to be seen:—were an impetus to be given to the development of the resources of Syria, (of which there is at present no prospect,) this district would become of great value from its low position, and consequently hot climate, added to the circumstance of its possessing abundant supplies of water. In this respect the basin of the Jordan is decidedly superior to the plains of Jaffa and Gaza, which possess an Egyptian

soil and climate,—and though, to a certain extent, the granaries of Syria are deficient in water,—not only might cotton be most extensively produced from these combined causes, but it is the only district in its latitude where the cultivation of sugar is sure of success. The thermometer, in August, under tents, often passes 120° Fahrenheit. Dr. Robinson found his thermometer, so early as the 13th of May, to be 102°. In the beginning of December, an English traveller left Jerusalem with 10° Reaumer, and found at Jericho 24°.

"Next to the restoration of political order to Palestine, the first desiderata are obviously the construction of a good road from Jaffa to Jerusalem, and rendering the port of the former place more secure, which might easily be effected by connecting the various ranges of rock outside the harbour."

Whilst the extensive plain and the wide sheet of Lake Asphaltites lay extended at our feet, bounded on the east by the wall-like range of the far mountains of Moab, whence Moses obtained a view of that promised land

on which he was, however, never to set foot;—on our left, and separated from us by a deep precipitous ravine or valley, the sides of which were thickly honeycombed with caves and excavations,—extended those mountainous desert tracts into which, according to the tradition of the Jerusalem friars, our Saviour was led by the Evil Spirit, and from whence he viewed "all the kingdoms of the world."

The excavations with which the precipitous rocky sides of these desolate hills are every where pierced, have from the earliest periods been,—as they continue to this day,—the abodes of outcasts and robbers;—and now they served as an asylum for the poor people who had lately fled from Jericho, and who, on beholding our approach, were now seen, in great numbers, on the top of the surrounding heights, as from their mountain fastnesses they hastened to join us in our descent into the plain below. This,—after carefully sweeping the horizon with our telescopes, without finding any visible signs of the enemy,—was only effected by a most rugged and precipitous path, in which Captain

Laué and myself had to take the lead, as Reschid Pasha did not appear particularly anxious to intrude himself too hastily on the notice of the redoubted Ibrahim.

Though from the summit of the hills we had not been able to discern any traces of the Egyptians, still, on reaching the plains below, great precautions were necessary to prevent a surprise, which might, from the nature of the country, have been attempted; considerable tracts to the left being thickly covered with underwood, composed of the thorny Nébek tree—whilst the wide expanse extending to the shores of the Dead Sea, presented the aspect of a bare, barren, and howling wilderness.

As the Turks shewed great reluctance to proceed, Laué and myself, as has been already stated, pricked forward, and after passing the foundations of some ancient buildings supposed to have been the former site of Jericho, we came to a clear gurgling brook, famed for the miracle performed by the prophet Elisha, in sweetening its previously bitter waters; and soon found our-

selves amongst the Nébek trees, at what had evidently been an outpost of the enemy, from the plentiful remains of slaughtered cattle which they had here left behind them on their retreat.

From this point, the old tower, known to former pilgrims as the house of Zaccheus, was in view, and on a near approach to what *had been* the site of Riha, we found a mass of still smoking cinders and burning embers, all that now remained of what, a few hours previously, had constituted that village—but not a shadow of the enemy or a single inhabitant was to be seen;—however, a few minutes after our arrival, Reschid Pasha came up with his party, almost immediately followed by the numerous band of Arabs, whom we had already seen at a distance amongst the mountains, and who now, with wild yells of execration, lamented over the destruction so wantonly inflicted on their property and dwellings.

Had the Turkish force advanced the previous day, according to my eager suggestions, we might have been in time, either to have

expedited Ibrahim's motions in re-crossing the Jordan, or perhaps have prevented him, altogether from effecting that movement, which had evidently been undertaken,—and with complete success on his part,—in order to retard, by this false alarm, the advance of our left column, and prevent its junction with the force proceeding to Gaza;—however he had now completely slipped through our fingers, and the only thing which remained to be done, since hostilities appeared to be still the order of the day,—was to harass him as much as possible on his way to Gaza, after he should have passed to the southward of the Dead Sea. In this Reschid Pasha fully concurred, and as it was now getting late, and we had nearly twenty-five miles to return,—after watering our horses at Elisha's brook, which, flowing past Riha, renders this spot more verdant than the surrounding melancholy desert,—we turned towards Jerusalem, and lost no further time in hastening thither.*

* Ibrahim Pasha, in an interview which the author had subsequently with him at Alexandria, a few months

It was to me a matter of no small regret, being now on that spot, once the fair and fertile valley of Siddim, (Gen. xiii. 10.) and so near the locality where the accursed cities had formerly drawn down the vengeance of the Omnipotent, that I should not have it in my power to wet even the sole of my foot with those dark waters under whose sluggish surface now lie buried the ruins of Sodom and Gomorrah; the destruction of which,—said metaphorically to be effected by fire from heaven,—was most likely the result of some extraordinary volcanic convulsion,* by which the asphaltum then

after the occurrence of these events, fully confirmed this supposition of the passage across the Jordan being only intended as a feint,—he, however, added that he had with him, on the occasion, some of his best cavalry, and that if the Turks had advanced from Jerusalem they would most certainly have been defeated. On the author asking whether, in that case, supposing he had fallen into the hands of the Egyptians, Ibrahim would have caused him to be put to death—the latter, with the greatest "sang-froid," and between the puffs of his chibouque, replied, that he might or might not have done so, according to the humour he found himself in at the moment!

* "The mountains that skirt the valley of the Dead Sea present granite, and those other rocks which, ac-

probably undermining the plain, may have become ignited—thus causing its superior surface to sink to the present level,* lately ascertained to be upwards of twelve

cording to the system of Werner, characterize the oldest or primitive formation. Mount Sinai is a member of the same group, and exhibits mineral qualities of a similar nature, extending to a certain distance on both sides of the Arabian Gulf. It is probable that this region at a remote epoch, was the theatre of immense volcanoes, the effects of which may still be traced along the banks of the Lower Jordan, and more especially on the lake itself. The warm baths at Tabaria shew that the same cause still exists, although much restricted in its operation,—an inference which is amply confirmed by the lavas, the bitumen, and pumice, which continue to be thrown ashore by the waves."—*Russell's Palestine.*

* This important fact, ascertained, during the late expedition to Syria, by Lieutenant Symonds of the Royal Engineers, will cause some change in the theories formerly entertained of the Jordan having originally discharged itself into the Red Sea through the southern Ghor, or Wâd-el-Araby.

The results of Lieutenant Symonds' scientific researches were, at the period when the above was written, about to form part of a map of Syria, drawn out by Majors Scott and Robe, who had likewise, whilst attached to the expedition, employed themselves in making surveys of that country.—See note at the end of the volume.

hundred feet below that of the Mediterranean.

The prevailing opinion here is that the "curse" still rests on this "Sea of Death;" the "*Bahar El Moutanah*," or Behar Lout (Sea of Lot) of the Arabs, engulphing, without any visible means of discharge, and at the same time embittering the sweet and pure stream of the Jordan, with which it is constantly fed. But although its waters be bitter, as the fruit said to grow on its banks,—although desolation still appears to reign paramount along its dreary shores,—many of the wonders connected with Lake Asphaltites are now discarded as idle fables, resulting from the credulity of ignorant pilgrims, the interested relations of crafty and designing monks, or to that well known Eastern attribute: an unconquerable predilection for the supernatural and marvellous.

Maundrell and several other authors positively contradict the statement that birds attempting to fly over the Dead Sea, invariably fall in their passage; that traveller also avers the fact of having seen several

cross over; and also, from having remarked numerous shells along its banks, he concludes that circumstance to disprove the usual supposition of its containing no fish, or any other living creature in its waters. Captain Laué who had, on a subsequent occasion, the opportunity of visiting the Lake Asphaltites, states that, on bathing in its waters, he found them to be very buoyant —but not to the degree of supporting *any* substance thrown on their surface, which assertion has been gravely made by many ancient writers.

Josephus mentions Jericho as being a favourite resort of King Herod, when the neighbourhood was celebrated for its fertility, as also for those palm, and balsam trees —now quite extinct, but which then produced that unrivalled ointment so famed for the virtues it possessed, and which sold for double its weight in silver.

The balsam of Jericho has, however, long ceased to flow; and although Lord Lindsay says, that he saw *one* single palm-tree, I do not remember having noticed it; but,

owing to the fertilizing water of Elisha's stream, the banks of the latter, which were green and wooded, presented a strong contrast to the aridity of the tract extending towards the "Bahar-é-Lout," or "Sea of Lot," as the lake is to this day denominated by the Arabs.*

Endless learned dissertations have been penned as to the existence of the famed "Apples" of the Dead Sea—"fair to behold," but containing nought save "bitterness and ashes." "Amongst the products of this place," says Maundrell, "I saw a remarkable fruit, called by the Arabs *Za-cho-ng*. It grows upon a thorny bush with small leaves, and both in shape and colour resembles a small unripe walnut."

* By the Greeks and Romans it was known as Lake Asphaltites, is called Almoutânah and El Bahâr-é-Lout by the Arabs, and Ula Degnisi by the Turks.

Strabo mentions that thirteen towns once occupied the space now covered by its waters,—whilst the Scriptures confine the number to five:—Sodom, Gomorrah, Adam, Seboim, and Bala, or Segor.

Josephus states that, in his time, the ruins of some of these cities were still visible beneath the waters of the Dead Sea.

The Arabs, he says, extract from this a healing oil for wounds both external and internal. This fruit corresponds with the one I remarked growing on the Nébek bushes, (by-the-bye greatly resembling the Indian Bahar tree), and might be the "Apple of the Dead Sea." Though that author ridicules the idea of its very existence—yet the time of his visit was in the month of March, when the fruit would be still green and unripe, and not contain the dust it may do at a later season, produced—as Hasselquist says,—by a certain insect, which, destroying the interior of the fruit, and converting it into powder, leaves nothing untouched save the rind, which, he avers, continues to all appearance in a sound and perfect state.

The fruit produced by the Nébek shrub or tree, and which sometimes attains the size of a small crab-apple, or "unripe walnut," may, after all, be the fruit likened to a "whited sepulchre," which has given rise to so many erudite inquiries, and to so large an expenditure of pens, ink, and paper.

Our homeward path lay again across the brook issuing from the spring purified with salt by the Prophet Elisha,* and proceeding from the foot of that mountain, on the top of which our Saviour is said to have fasted for a period of forty days.

A short distance from the stream, on approaching the hills, and about a mile from the now smoking remains of Rihā, the ruins of an aqueduct and of some old foundations of buildings, mark the spot where ancient Jericho is supposed to have stood, when its walls were shaken from their foundations at the sound of Joshua's trumpets.

After passing these ruins,—tired of the slow pace at which our friend the "Chef de l'Etat Major," chose to proceed, and sick of his dull prosing pomposity of manner,—Laué and myself setting spurs to our high mettled steeds, and soon leaving the Turks behind, were within five hours, before the gates of Jerusalem, which we entered at a late hour of the night; whilst both horses and riders were rather the worse for a trip of fifty miles,

* Vide 2 Kings, ii. 19.

over execrable roads, and without having had any rest or refreshment during the whole expedition.

17*th January.* Up early and at Reschid Pasha's quarters, to get him to move at once to Hebron with the Turkish force, as we should then have a chance of intercepting Ibrahim; but it was very evident that, although outwardly manifesting every desire to have a brush with the Egyptians, the Turks were at heart still afraid of their old conquerors. Reschid Pasha would not stir from Jerusalem, on the plea that his *horses were tired* with the trip of the previous day, but after a great deal of persuasion, I got him to order off eight or ten battalions of the troops, together with all the artillery; this force however, started so late, that it only that night reached Bethlehem, a distance of six or seven miles. After seeing the Turks fairly off, as it was of no use for us to accompany them that day,—for we could easily overtake the column on the morrow,—Mr. Hunter and myself passed our time in exploring the neighbourhood, and afterwards

spent the evening at the social board, with a large party of Israelites, the friends of mine host Zachariah, who furnished me with a letter of introduction to some relations at Hebron, and which he asserted would next day ensure a comfortable billet at that place.

By taking up my quarters with the despised and degraded cast of "Yahoudis," as the children of Israel are here denominated, I excited the undisguised astonishment of my Turkish "brother officers," Hassan and Reschid Pasha; but when I explained to the latter that, by following this course, I always ensured a good bed, plenty to eat, and what I could not procure at the house of a Mahomedan, viz. wine and spirits, together with a sight of the fairest portion of the creation, for the dark-eyed daughters of Abraham were always most kind and attentive in administering to our wants; the great Reschid allowed such arguments to be unanswerable, and only regretted that custom would not permit him to follow my example.

18*th January*. Reschid Pasha and myself received replies to the despatches we

had respectively sent to Generals Jochmus and Michell, from Abougosh, in which our return to Jerusalem met with their approbation: but we felt not a little sore at the communication from the former, in which, after recommending us to hold out to the utmost against Ibrahim Pasha, should the latter attack the city, he added that *not requiring our assistance*, he should forthwith proceed on to Gaza, to carry into immediate execution his designs on that place.

Unless we were very expeditious in our movements against Ibrahim, the campaign was consequently likely to come to an end without our having had a single brush with the enemy; I therefore strongly urged Reschid to exert himself; and in the course of the forenoon, mounting our horses, we followed the Turkish column to Khālil, the ancient Hebron, the capital of David, before the conquest of Jerusalem, and the burial-place of the Patriarchs.

The distance from Jerusalem is about twenty-five miles, through a barren mountainous country, with all those characteristic

marks of rocky sterility peculiar to the hills of Judea.

On an approach to the town over the remains of a paved road,—apparently the ruins of an old Roman causeway,—some cultivation, in the shape of vineyards and olive-groves, was perceptible; it was nearly dark when we entered Hebron, but from its narrow and gloomy streets and high ranges of massive stone buildings, it appeared to be much in the same style of architecture and appearance as the holy city of Jerusalem; that dull and death-like town we had so lately quitted.

Hassan Pasha had already arrived with his whole force,—Reschid and myself therefore proceeded immediately to his quarters to concert plans as to our future operations. Supposing Ibrahim had moved southward the day on which he re-crossed the Jordan, (on the morning of the 16th,) he might possibly, by this time, (the evening of the 18th,) be somewhere at the southern extremity of the Dead Sea, from which point Hebron is distant about thirty miles;—having,

therefore, on the chart, marked out his supposed route, together with our present position, I proposed that next morning we should march due south, and thereby have a chance of coming on the right flank of the enemy;—Reschid immediately saw the propriety of this, and was endeavouring to prove the same to Hassan Pasha, who, honest man, had about as much knowledge of a map, as he entertained of the solar system of Ptolemy;—when, to our great surprise, two British officers: Major Wilbraham of our staff, and Lieutenant Loring, R. N. were ushered in, announced the cessation of hostilities, and the final acceptance of Commodore Napier's convention,—the intimation of which, they were now conveying to Ibrahim Pasha, having directions to afford him every facility in his further retreat on Gaza, with the failure of the expedition against which they likewise acquainted us. This news was also confirmed by a letter to me from the Commodore.*

The campaign was therefore closed—all

* See note at the end of the volume.

further idea of fighting at an end,—and so rejoiced did my Turkish "brother officers" appear to be at this event, that, forgetting every appearance of Mahomedan decorum, Hassan Pasha forthwith called for a supply of spirits, and retired that night to his couch in anything but a state of sobriety.

It was a strange coincidence, after having received General Jochmus' confident assurance of immediate success against Gaza, together with the assertion of his being able entirely to dispense with the assistance of the left column of the army on that occasion, that we should, on the very same day, get accounts of his precipitate retreat before the enemy, without having scarcely fired a shot!

The following relation of the advance of the Turkish army on Gaza, and the skirmish at Medjdel on the 15th of January, which appears to have been the cause of General Jochmus' subsequent retreat, was, a short time afterwards, furnished to me by Major Harvey of the 14th Light Dragoons, on meeting that officer in Egypt.*

* On which occasion Major Harvey proceeded across

"The Turkish force, consisting of ten battalions, fourteen guns, and some irregular cavalry, with a very few regulars forming the Pasha's guard, and commanded by the Seraskier Zacharias Pacha, and the directing General, Lieutenant-General Jochmus, and accompanied by Brigadier-General Michell, C.B. of the Royal Artillery, (who disapproved in "toto" of the movement, but from honorable motives would not be absent when his counsel might be of use, and his presence beneficial,) arrived, on the morning of the 15th of January, 1841, at the village of Medjdel, about 10 A.M. having that morning made a very short march from Ashdod, of three hours only, in consequence of the great quantity of rain which was falling, the heavy state of the roads, and the fatigue of the troops on their march of the previous day from Ramla, and their having, the preceding night, bivouacked in the rain and mud.

"They were scarcely billeted in the village,

the Desert from Gaza to Cairo, on a most arduous expedition, during the greatest heats of summer, in June, 1841.

when the alarm was given that the enemy was approaching, and some shots were heard. In about twenty minutes they were formed in front of the village, some in squares, and some lining the largest enclosures,—the guns also were in position. Before them was a large olive plantation, and the ground ascended in their front to a slightly elevated ridge, so that the view was very confined; but the position was on the whole such as would have been chosen; they moreover turned out with alacrity, and put a good countenance on the matter. The Staff immediately galloped to the top of the ridge, with Jochmus and General Michell, to reconnoitre—we were scarcely there before we were charged by about three hundred horsemen, whom we saw advancing at about two hundred yards from us. Colonel Rose had been wounded previously, when he had attempted to stop this body with a very few men, whom he had accidentally fallen in with. They drove us in upon the guns,—these immediately opened,—a few shells also were thrown, which it was said did execution.

The enemy instantaneously turned tail, and we sallied out again in pursuit with what few horsemen could be found at the moment, and who came dropping in by small detachments. Some English officers who had been over to Askalon to look for two steamers which were to co-operate on the attack on Gaza, at their return fell in with the pursuit, and joined in the chase.

"However, every now and then, the enemy halted, showed front, fired, and retreated in tolerable order, for they were the stronger party, and eventually retired upon a considerable body of cavalry, of which they were the advanced guard, and the number of which was variously estimated. The pursuit stopped at about five or six miles from Gaza; but it is said that had Jochmus immediately seized the opportunity and marched, he might have done the same the following morning, when the weather was fine; but he pleaded the badness of the road, and without consulting General Michell, (which by his firman he was bound to do,) retired into Jaffa on the 16th.

General Michell had originally disapproved of the whole operation, as there were reports or rumours afloat of a Convention, though no positive knowledge of one, and he thought it was a false movement, with Ibrahim Pasha liable to take us in flank by way of Jericho and Jerusalem—as he made demonstration of doing;—still he would have saved Gaza, a town of the Sultan's, and the large magazines of corn there, which Ibrahim afterwards sold, and would have dictated terms to the Egyptians, who arrived from the desert in small bodies, and a good deal disorganized.

"On the 17th Lieutenant Loring and an Egyptian officer arrived at Jaffa, with the Convention from Alexandria. They were immediately despatched in search of Ibrahim; but could not find him, as he was wandering to the eastward and south of the Dead Sea. Indeed he did not turn up until he was fallen in with at the end of the month, with a few hundred men, by Colonel Rose, as he was about to enter Gaza—I believe on the 30th.

"Such was the affair of Medjdel—I was with General Michell at the beginning, and throughout the business. The officers who joined in the pursuit were Colonels Bridgeman and Alderson—Majors Robe and Wilbraham, and I believe, two or three others. There was also a young naval officer present."

This account corroborates other statements of General Michell having from the first opposed the design of an attack upon Gaza;* but when an advance for that purpose *had* actually taken place, he as strenuously objected to the ensuing retreat, undertaken without any apparent adequate cause.

Colonel Alderson's narrative on the subject, in Commodore Napier's War of Syria, says:—

"General Michell had not been consulted, nor had any questions been asked of Colonel Bridgeman, Majors Robe and Wilbraham, or myself, as to the state of the Gaza road, although we had been nearly half way to

* Vide Commodore Napier's War in Syria, vol. 2. chap. viii.

that place. I will merely add, (having since that period, twice travelled the road by daylight,) that nearly the whole of it is a sandy soil, and I should say, the rain which had fallen, had rather been beneficial than otherwise.

"If we had disapproved of the expedition in the first instance, how much greater was our mortification at having to abandon it, after having come in contact with the enemy.

"We learned afterwards, that the Egyptian cavalry, with which we had been engaged at Medjdel, was making its customary reconnoissance to ascertain if any movement had been made on the part of the Turks, as well as to forage: and that, in all probability, the action had been brought on by the dashing conduct of Colonel Rose, in charging their advancing piquet."

According to all statements, never was a retreat,—nay, almost an absolute flight,—more unaccountably undertaken, or more precipitately carried into effect. General Jochmus, in his official letter to Sir Robert Stopford,

accounts for this "untoward event," by stating that, in consequence of the incessant rain, the ground *was quite impassable*, and that the low country towards Gaza "*having become a complete marsh*,"—such a step for the time seemed expedient;—from this we conclude that the "Generalissimo" must have received very incorrect information from his Quarter Master General's Department, and would have done better, had he condescended to consult those British officers of rank and experience, who were likely to know something on the subject, and who, it appears, had that day been over the very ground alluded to in the above despatch, dated "Head Quarters," Jaffa, the 17th January.

That a young soldier of fortune, unexpectedly raised to a high and responsible situation, should, ere the close of the campaign, have been anxious to gain a name, and distinguish his command by striking a bold and decisive blow against the enemy, is not a matter of surprise;—the blame attached to such an act under these existing

circumstances, must, by all concurring testimony, rest in a much higher quarter, and on one whom the important duties of his exalted diplomatic situation, (to say nothing of the risk of compromising the faith and honour of England,) should have guided in a far different course,—whilst the same causes should have prevented him from being governed by that personal, nay, almost childish feeling of animosity against Mehemet Ali, which caused the latter often at this period to say: "that he considered himself now no longer at war with either Turkey or England, but with the English Ambassador at Constantinople."*

Be that as it may, the sudden retreat after the skirmish at Medjdel is allowed, by every military man, to have been a most false and ill-judged movement, and, as things turned out, it proved also to be most unluckily timed; for had General Jochmus only delayed till the following day his retro-

* Vide Vol. II. pp. 64 and 72, of Commodore Napier's "War in Syria," and "Levant Papers," part iii. pp. 203, 268, 275.

grade movement, he would then probably have received intelligence of the approval of the Convention, which news was brought to Jaffa by Lieutenant Loring, R.N., on the 17th of January. Thus, by keeping his ground for a few hours longer, he might have had all the credit of the intended forward movement, without experiencing the mortification of retiring before what proved to be a mere reconnoitring party of the enemy, — who were, moreover, gallantly charged and driven back by some of the English officers headed by Colonel Rose; and strange to say, the latter are not even mentioned in the official account of this ever memorable "battle of Medjdel!"*

* * * *

As I concluded that my further presence would,—under existing circumstances,—be no longer required with Hassan Pasha's column, and having formed the resolution of acquainting General Michell, as speedily as possible, of its present situation, together with what I knew of the Egyptian army, I

* See Note at the end of the volume.

expressed the determination of returning next day to Jaffa,—whilst Major Wilbraham and Lieutenant Loring were to proceed on their mission in quest of Ibrahim Pasha.

Januqry 19th. Captain Laué, Count Szechenyi, and Mr. Hunter, having determined to accompany me on my return to Jaffa, we left Hebron at an early hour of the morning, regretting much that want of time prevented us from examining the venerable site of Kirjath-Arba, "for the same is Hebron in the land of Canaan,* and the plain of Mamre," the residence and burial place of the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob,—whose bones are still said to rest in the Cave of Machpelah, purchased, for four hundred shekels of silver, from the children of Heth,† near this most ancient city.‡

* Gen. xiii. 18; xxiii. 2.

† Gen. xxv. 10, 29; and l. 13.

‡ "Now the people of the country say that it is an ancienter city, not only than any in that country, but than Memphis in Egypt; and accordingly its age is reckoned at two thousand and three hundred years. They also relate that it had been the habitation of Abram, the progenitor of the Jews, after he had re-

These monuments are still held in the greatest veneration, by all sects; but the Mahomedans have appropriated them, to the exclusion of both Cnristians and Jews, the latter of whom appeared to be, at this place, in a most wretchedly debased condition, much worse off than their brethren at Jerusalem, though apparently of the same Spanish origin, as they spoke a sort of *patois* in that language, which I could with ease comprehend; and in some of the songs of the women,—these daughters of Sarah,—who at this spot likewise terminated her long life,—it was not difficult to trace the fragments of those *Romances* and Moorish ballads,—which, in a somewhat purer Castilian idiom, had been long familiar to

moved out of Mesopotamia; and they say that his posterity descended from thence into Egypt, whose monuments are, to this very time, shewed in that small city; the fabric of which monuments are of the most excellent marble, and wrought after the most elegant manner. There is also there shewed, at the distance of six furlongs from the city, a very large turpentine tree; and the report goes that this tree has continued ever since the creation of the world."—*Josephus's Jewish War.* (B. iv. c. 9.)

my ears in the rocky sierras and fertile plains of Andalusia.

Having provided ourselves with a guide, and mounted him on a spare horse, we set out on a long day's journey, the first part of which lay through a wild hilly country, covered with firs and pine-trees, and presenting at many points scenes of considerable picturesque beauty. On issuing from this wooded region, apparently only tenanted by a few poor goatherds and their flocks, we next traversed the undulating tract of country bordering the wide plains of Sharon, and occupied principally by Bedouin encampments; though here and there a few olive trees, or a patch of cultivation, bespoke the presence of the husbandman, who might be seen prosecuting his labours at the plough with the assistance of the camel, which I now, for the first time, saw employed in this manner,—though the custom of making use of these animals for purposes of draught is of remote antiquity—the circumstance being alluded to by the Prophet Isaiah, (chap. xxi. 7.)

As we rapidly swept over the now nearly level plain, these poor Fellahs would stop their ungainly teams to ask us what "khubber"—news; our hasty reply was "Sullah, dilwuqt fee el Sullah—Peace, peace, is now concluded;" and they responded to this joyful intimation by the most hearty "Al-lumdòlillahs—Thanks be to God."

During our progress we, however, fell in with other characters, who did not seem so peaceably inclined as the poor ploughing "camel drivers;" these appeared, occasionally, in the shape of well-armed and mounted Bedouins, piratical rovers of the desert, who once or twice, to the number of seven or eight, followed us from afar to a considerable distance; but seeing us well prepared to resist an attack, and probably in this case considering discretion as the better part of valour, contented themselves with a distant reconnoissance of our little force: and then striking up one of the gullys leading to the Naplouse hills, in whose recesses they would disappear, left us to prosecute our journey without further molestation.

We continued our advance for about forty miles, without pulling bit, till we reached Rāmlāh; here the rest of the party, their horses being dead-beat, were obliged to sound a halt; however, thanks to the superior mettle of my old grey charger—the parting gift of the Commodore,—I was enabled to push on, and entered Jaffa, the same afternoon; thus performing, in rather less than seven hours, and without a check, the long distance of fifty miles, no slight proof of the powers of endurance of the Arab horse, who, on this occasion, had to carry all the additional weight of saddle and holsters, arms and heavy accoutrements.

I found both General Michell, and Colonel Bridgeman very ill of fever, contracted from the incessant rain they had been exposed to, during the late expedition;—Colonel Rose was still laid up with his wounds,—whilst all the other officers who had been engaged in the "demonstration" on Gaza, were very sore at the unexpected result attending it, and loud in their censures on the causes which had led to its, anything but glorious termination.

Nothing now remained to be done, but patiently await the result of Lieutenant Loring and Major Wilbraham's mission to Ibrahim Pasha; and the intervening period, from the 20th to the 24th of January, after a short rest from our fatigues,—was employed by Count Szechenyi and myself in pursuing the game, consisting of wild boars, wolves, foxes, jackals, and gazelles, with which the plains of Sharon are, in this neighbourhood, most abundantly stocked. The Count proved a real sportsman, and many a pleasant gallop we had together, whilst thus following the exciting pleasures of the chase.

The 24th was marked by the melancholy event of the death of poor General Michell, who, at last, sank under the combined effects of climate, annoyance, and exposure, acting on a frame greatly enfeebled by former wounds and hardships; deeply regretted by all those who served under him, or had the advantage of his acquaintance: the death of this gallant old soldier is thus mentioned by Colonel Alderson.*

* Vide Napier's War in Syria, vol. ii. page 170.

"The cold caught by General Michell, that wretched night of incessant rain that followed the affair of Medjdel, under single canvass, acting on a delicate frame, arising from repeated wounds received in an hundred fights, together with, I firmly believe, the mortification he felt at the result of the movement on Gaza, brought on a fever, under which poor Michell sank in a few days. He died at Jaffa, on the 24th of January, at noon.

"It falls to the lot of few soldiers to earn so high a reputation in the profession as Brigadier-General Michell had done; fewer still who to these high military acquirements have united a mind so highly cultivated. He was too well known in the military world to enable me to add anything to his well-earned reputation. I may, however, be permitted as a friend to say that, having been his constant companion since we left Spain together, I deeply felt and deplored his loss; and that a life so valuable to his country should have been *thus* so prematurely cut off.

"His remains were deposited in a vault

hastily constructed by the British sappers, in what is called the English or south-eastern bastion, at Jaffa, for which a marble slab is now preparing at Malta, as a slight memorial of the great respect and esteem in which he was held by his brother officers."

Colonel Bridgeman, who succeeded to the command, was himself in a most precarious state of health; and, in this situation of things, instructions arrived from Constantinople to the Seraskier, desiring him to adhere to the articles of the Convention only as far as it suited his convenience,—and that should the Egyptian army be, on its arrival at Gaza, so completely disorganized as to render its annihilation an easy matter, he was to attack, destroy, and take as many prisoners as he was able. This occasioned a strong debate at head-quarters; Captain Houston Stewart, the senior naval officer, with Colonel Bridgeman and the British staff, refusing to support measures which would have left so deep a stain on the honour and good faith of England—whilst General Jochmus and Mr. Wood, urged on by Lord

Ponsonby, were equally loud, conjointly with the Turkish authorities, in advocating the continuation of hostile measures.*

The mission to Ibrahim Pasha had also returned, after having been unsuccessful in their efforts to discover the Egyptian army —owing principally to the opposition they met with—probably at the instigation of the Turks,†—on the part of Sheikh Abderrahman, the chief of the Bedouin tribes, about Hebron, who distinctly told them that he would not assist their advance, or give them any information on the subject,—although he must have been perfectly well acquainted with Ibrahim's position at the time, having just returned from the desert to the south of the Dead Sea.* This chief, by indirect means, threw such difficulties and obstacles in their way that, after escaping many dangers from the robber tribes they encountered

* Vide Commodore Napier's War in Syria, vol. ii. p. 72.

† Sheikh Abderrahman subsequently confessed that he *dared* not forward the object of the mission, lest he should thereby incur the displeasure of the Turks.

in their progress, Major Wilbraham and Lieutenant Loring were obliged, at last, to relinquish the undertaking, and after proceeding, in the first instance, to Gaza, finally returned to head-quarters at Jaffa, which place they reached on the 23rd.

Major Wilbraham had found assembled at Gaza a force of nearly ten thousand men, under the command of Achmed Menekli Pasha, who was loud in his complaints at the opposition and hostilities his troops continued to experience on their line of march, from the Arab tribes by which they were on all parts surrounded. Colonel Alderson had two days previous gone to Gaza, to superintend its gradual evacuation by the Egyptian troops;* but, in consequence of this, infor-

* "MEMORANDUM FOR COLONEL ALDERSON'S GUIDANCE.

"*Jaffa, January 22nd*, 1841.

"Accounts having been received by the Seraskier that a considerable number of Egyptian troops had advanced towards Gaza, his Excellency has requested that an English officer of rank and discretion should proceed to the quarters of the Egyptian officer commanding the troops in that neighbourhood, to act as conservator of the peace. In all probability the Egyp-

mation, and the hostile attitude again assumed by the officers of the Sultan, it was

tian commandant will not feel himself authorised to order any of these troops to retire until he shall receive directions from Ibrahim Pasha; but you will point out to him the evident necessity that exists for the avoidance of any, the smallest act of hostility or plunder, if he would not break the Convention and renew the war. So long as you are satisfied that he is acting in good faith, and doing every thing possible to maintain order and peace towards the Turkish troops and inhabitants of the neighbourhood, you will remain with him, taking occasion, at all times, to point out, and to urge upon him the propriety of hastening, by any means in his power, the evacuation of Syria, in the terms of Mehemet Ali Pasha's order to his son—Ibrahim Pasha. Should you have reason to object to any of his proceedings, you will at once remonstrate and protest; should he persist, you will formally take your leave, and immediately return to the British head-quarters, giving notice that you have done so to the officer commanding the nearest post of the Ottoman troops, and putting him on his guard. You will communicate with head-quarters as frequently as possible, and notify, as exactly as you can, the number and state of the Egyptian troops in that district.

"You will have with you copies of the letters which have been forwarded to Ibrahim Pasha, and of Commodore Sir Charles Napier's letters from Alexandria to General Michell and to Captain Stewart. The Seraskier Pasha has declared that he has no design to deprive the Egyptians of their arms, baggage, or guns;

determined that Captain Houston Stewart and Colonel Rose, accompanied by Lieutenant Loring and myself, should forthwith proceed to Gaza,—taking with us Reschid Pasha, as a sort of hostage for the faith of the Turks.* We accordingly embarked on the evening of the 24th of January in H. M. Steamer Hecate, and came to an anchor off Gaza early on the following morning.

We found the Egyptian steamer "Nile" already in the roads, awaiting, on the faith of the treaty, the embarkation of the sick, women and children, of Ibrahim's army; and on going ashore were met by Mahmoud

and that he wishes, by every fair and safe means, to facilitate the retirement from Syria of the Egyptian forces. Copies of the instructions given to the officers sent to Ibrahim Pasha, and to accompany General Jochmus, will also be furnished to you: and you will observe that the immediate evacuation of Syria is the principal object to which all others are to be considered as secondary.

"By desire of General Michell,

(Signed) "HOUSTON STEWART."

* The author at this period likewise received a letter from Commodore Napier, which, as it relates to the then existing state of things, is given at the end of the volume.

Bey, the former Governor of Beyrout, who accosting us in French, politely accompanied us back to the town of Gaza, situated about a couple of miles inland, the intervening country—sprinkled here and there with date trees, and plants of the cactus or prickly-pear,—being composed of a deep, sandy soil, through which we slowly and painfully toiled until we reached our destination, when we immediately proceeded to the quarters of the Commandant, Achmed Menekli Pasha, by whom we were perfectly well received, and we found the Egyptian officers, in manners, dress and appearance, perfect gentlemen as compared to our worthy associates, the Turks. After a preliminary pipe, Captain Stewart and Colonel Rose entered immediately on business, and assured Achmet Menekli Pasha that nothing should, on the part of the British, be wanting to ensure the punctual fulfilment of the treaty. Reschid Pasha, on the other hand, strongly objected to the number of Egyptian troops then assembled at Gaza; however, this was replied to with information that the evacuation was to com-

mence, on the morrow, by the march on El Arish, of a cavalry-brigade, consisting of two regiments, which were on each succeeding day, to be followed by an equal number. Reschid Pasha next insisted on every Syrian soldier, then in the Egyptian army, being left behind at Gaza; and although this demand was, strictly speaking, in accordance with the original spirit of Commodore Napier's Convention,* yet, the Turks had latterly shewn such symptoms of bad faith, whilst manifesting every disposition to break through the terms of the treaty on the first favourable opportunity, that the Egyptian Commandant appears to have been perfectly justified in refusing to comply with a request which would, by completely disorganizing his

* "I had before spoken to Mehemet Ali about these people, and he objected, under the plea that it would disorganize Ibrahim's army even more than the retreat, and, if they were allowed to join the Turks, they might be turned against him. This was much more than probable, and I in consequence consented that they should be delivered up at Gaza. Mehemet Ali, in this case, did not keep his word." Commodore Napier's war in Syria vol. 2. p. 91.

army, have placed him at the mercy of his enemies, until he should have further communicated on the subject with Ibrahim Pasha himself, who was then every day expected.

On hearing this determination of Achmed Menekli, Reschid, who appeared glad of any excuse for a quarrel, took me aside, and told me that, should this intention be adhered to, he would order forward the whole of the Turkish force, and cut off Ibrahim Pasha's communication with Gaza.* I lost no time in giving this information to my colleagues: and so much probability did there appear of a collision taking place, that Capt. Stewart thought it requisite immediately to inform Commodore Napier, who was then at Alexandria, of the actual state of affairs;—and

* The despatch to this effect was actually, after my departure, sent by Reschid Pasha, who was preparing to start off himself for Jaffa, perfectly regardless of the predicament in which he was leaving the British officers there, when they accidentally found out what he had done;—caused him immediately to countermand his order, and made him remain with them at Gaza, to ensure, with his own precious person, the observance of Turkish faith!

offering to take charge of his communication,—I, in the course of an hour, found myself on board H.M.S. Hecate, steaming away towards the land of Egypt, and rapidly losing sight of the shores of Syria.

I soon reached my destination, and shortly after met the Commodore returning down the Nile from a visit to Cairo.—But all this,—as well as my proceedings on a subsequent visit to Egypt, for the purpose of obtaining the release of the Syrian conscripts detained by Mehemet Ali,—I propose to detail in another work, and therefore, for the present, beg to take leave of my patient, and,—I hope,—indulgent Reader.

FINIS.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

Siege of Tyre by Saladin.

Page 74.

"From the feast of St. Martin up to that of the Circumcision of the Lord," says a contemporary writer, "Saladin hath besieged Tyre incessantly, by night and by day, throwing into it immense stones from thirteen military engines. On the vigils of St. Sylvester, the Lord Conrad, the Marquis of Montferrat, distributed knights and foot soldiers along the wall of the city, and having armed seventeen galleys and ten small vessels with the assistance of the House of the Hospital and the Brethren of the Temple, he engaged the galleys of Saladin, and vanquishing them he captured eleven, and took prisoners the Great Admiral of Alexandria and eight other Admirals, a multitude of the infidels being slain. The rest of the Mussulman galleys, escaping the hands of the Christians, fled to the army of Saladin, and being run aground by his command, were set on fire and burnt to ashes. Saladin himself, overwhelmed with grief, having cut off the ears and the tail of

his horse, rode that same horse through the whole army in the sight of all. Farewell!"*

"Tyre was valiantly defended against all the efforts of Saladin, until the winter had set in; and then the disappointed Sultan, despairing of taking the place, burnt his military engines and retired to Damascus."—*Addison's History of the Knights Templars.*

Richard, Earl of Cornwall.

Page 90.

"The peace concluded between Frederick and the Saracen rulers (1228) was not faithfully observed by the latter, some of whom did not even consider themselves as bound by its stipulations. The sufferings endured by the Christians of Palestine accordingly once more called their brethren in Europe to arms. A council held under the auspices of the Pope at Spaleto, decreed that fresh levies should be sent into Asia, so soon as the truce with Khamel, the Sultan of Damascus, should have expired. Many of the English nobility, inflamed by the love of warlike fame, took the cross, and prepared to follow the standard of the Earl of Chester, and of Richard, Earl of Cornwall, brother to King Henry the Third.

"In this pious movement the Lords of England were anticipated by those of France, who, in the year 1239, landed in Syria, and prepared to measure lances with the

* *Hoveden* ut sup. p. 646. *Sehahab eddin* in the Raoudhatein. —*Michaud.*

Moslems. News of these warlike proceedings being received by the nephew of Saladin, he forthwith drove the Christians out of Jerusalem, and demolished the tower of David,—a monument which till that time had been regarded as sacred by both parties. The combats which followed, although fought with great bravery on the side of the invaders, terminated generally in favour of the Saracens; and the French accordingly, after losing a great number of their best warriors, were glad to have recourse to terms of peace. The Templars entered into treaty with the Emir of Karac, whilst the Hospitallers, actuated by jealousy or revenge, preferred the friendship of the Sultan of Egypt.

"The following year Richard, the Earl of Cornwall, arrived with his navy, hoping to find his allies in possession of all the towns which had been ceded to the Emperor of Germany, and enjoying security in the exercise of their religious rites. His surprise was therefore very great when he discovered that the principal leaders of the French had already fled from the plains of Syria; that the knights of the two grand Orders had sought refuge in negotiation; and, finally, that the conquests of the former Crusaders were once more limited to a few fortresses and a strip of territory on the coast. He marched, in the first instance, to Jaffa, with the view of concentrating the scattered forces of Europe; but receiving notice, as soon as he arrived, that the Sultan of Egypt, who was then at war with his brother of Damascus, was desirous to cultivate friendly relations, he lent a ready ear to the terms proposed. The Mussulman consented to relinquish Jeru-

salem, Beritus, Nazareth, Bethlehem, Mount Tabor, and a large portion of the Holy Land, provided the English Earl would withdraw his troops, and preserve a strict neutrality.

"These conditions being ratified by the Egyptian sovereign, the Earl of Cornwall had the satisfaction to see the great object of the Crusaders once more accomplished. Palestine again belonged to the Christians. The Hospitallers opened their treasury to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem, while the Patriarch and the clergy entered the Holy City to reconsecrate the churches. For two years the Gospel was the only religion administered in the sacred capital, and the faithful had begun to exult in the permanent subjection of their rivals, when a new enemy arose more formidable to them than even the Saracens—[the Karismians.]"—*Russell's Palestine.*

THE SIEGE OF ACRE IN 1799.

Page 91.

I dare say it has often puzzled even deeper students of history than myself to know what to believe where the contemporary authorities are decidedly at variance, but as some *savant* may have a key to the difficulty, I beg to call his attention to the two following accounts of an affair which has happened almost under our own eyes. The writers are Sir Sydney Smith and Bonaparte, and all the documents are official, and therefore *must* be true.

SIR SYDNEY SMITH TO THE ADMIRAL.

Letter d.—Tigre, off St. Jean d'Acre, March 23rd, 1799.

"In consequence of information from Ghezar Pacha, Governor of Syria, of the incursion of General Bonaparte's army into that province, and approach to its capital, Acre, I hastened with a portion of the Naval force under my orders, to its relief, and had the satisfaction to arrive there two days before the enemy made his appearance. The presence of a British Naval force appeared to encourage and decide the Pacha and his troops to make a vigorous resistance.

"The enemy's advanced guard was discovered at the foot of Mount Carmel in the night of the 17th (March) by the Tigre's gun-boats; these troops not expecting to find a Naval force of any description in Syria, took up their ground close by the water side, and were consequently exposed to the fire of grape-shot from the boats, which put them to the rout the instant it opened upon them, and obliged them to retire precipitately up the side of the Mount. The main body of the army, finding the road between the sea and Mount Carmel thus exposed, came in by that of Nazareth, and invested the town of Acre to the East; but not without being much harassed by the Samaritan Arabs, who are even more inimical to the French than the Egyptians, and better armed.

"As the enemy returned our fire by musketry only, it was evident that they had not brought cannon with them, &c. &c."—(Their flotilla of one corvette and nine gun-

boats with their heavy batteries, were taken by the Theseus and the gun-boats anchored off the town to harass the enemy's outposts.)

After this it appears Sir Sydney Smith was obliged by bad weather to put to sea, as he says in Letter 2nd.

Letter 2nd.—"*Tigre, St. Jean d'Acre Bay, April 7th.*

"As soon as the return of fine weather, after the equinoctial gale, allowed me to approach this unsheltered anchorage, I resumed my station in the bay, with the squadron under my orders: (The enemy in the mean time had approached to the counterscarp, and had begun to undermine, when a sortie was determined on under Col. Douglas and Lieut. Wright, and they were driven from the parallels.")

Letter 3rd.—2nd May.

Sir Sydney Smith says: "that the enemy continued to make the most desperate assaults at a great expense of life. The Theseus, Tigre, and gun-boats annoying them much."

Letter 5th.—May 9th, 1799.

He says: "We have been long anxiously looking for a reinforcement, without which we could not expect to be able to keep the place so long as we have. It was not until the evening of the day before yesterday, the 51st day of the siege, that Hassan Bey's fleet of corvettes and transports made its appearance. The approach of this additional strength was a signal to Bonaparte for a most

signal and persevering assault, in hopes to get possession of the town before the reinforcement to the garrison could disembark. The constant fire of the besiegers was suddenly increased tenfold—our flanking fire from afloat was as usual plied to the utmost. Still, however, the enemy gained ground, and made a lodgement in the second story of the north-east tower, the upper part being entirely battered down; the ruins in the ditch formed the ascent by which they mounted.

"Daylight shewed us the French standard on the outer angle of the tower. The fire of the besieged was much slackened in comparison with that of the besiegers, and our flanking fire was now of less effect, the enemy having covered themselves in this lodgement, and the approach to it, by two traverses across the ditch, which they had constructed under the fire that had been opposed to them the whole night, and which were now seen composed of sandbags and the bodies of the dead built in with them, only their bayonets being visible above them. Hassan Bey's troops were in the boats, as yet but half way on shore; this was a most critical point of the contest, and an effort was necessary to preserve the place for a short time till their arrival; I accordingly landed the boats at the mole, and took the crews up to the breach, armed with pikes. The enthusiastic gratitude of the Turks, men, women, and children, at the sight of such a reinforcement, at such a time, is not to be described. Many fugitives returned with us to the breach, which we found defended by a few brave Turks, whose most destructive missile weapons were

heavy stones, which, striking the assailants on the head, overthrew the foremost down the slope, and impeded the progress of the rest. A succession however ascended to the assault, the heap of ruins between the two parties serving as a breast-work for both—the muzzle of their muskets touching the spear-heads of the standards locked.

"Ghezar Pacha, hearing the English were on the breach, quitted his station. The energetic old man, coming behind us, pulled us down with violence, saying that if any harm happened to his English friends all was lost. * * * *

"The groups of Generals and aides-de-camp, which the shells from the sixty-eight-pounders had frequently dispersed, were now reassembled on Richard Cœur-de-lion's Mount. Bonaparte was distinguished in the centre of the semicircle; his gesticulations indicated a renewal of attack, and his despatching an Aide-de-camp to the camp, shewed that he waited only for a reinforcement.

"A little before sunset a massive column appeared advancing to the breach with solemn step. The Pacha's idea was not to defend the breach this time, but to let a certain number of the enemy in, and then close with them according to the Turkish mode of war. The column then mounted the breach unmolested, and descended from the rampart to the Pacha's garden, where, in a few minutes, the bravest and most advanced amongst them lay headless corpses—the sabre, with the addition of a dagger in the other hand, proving more than a match for the bayonet;—

the rest retreated precipitately, and the commanding Officer, who was seen manfully encouraging his men to mount the breach, who we have since learnt to be General Lassunes, was carried off, wounded by a musket shot. General Rombaud was killed * * * *

(After this the French withdrew,) "and the contest of twenty-five hours ended, both parties being so fatigued as to be unable to move.

"Bonaparte will no doubt renew the attack, the breach being, as above described, perfectly practicable for fifty men abreast; indeed it is not, nor ever has been defensible according to the rules of art, but *according to every other rule it must* and shall be defended, not that it is in itself worth defending, but we feel that it is by this breach Bonaparte means to march to further conquests.

"It is on the issue of this contest that depends the opinion of the multitude of spectators on the surrounding hills, who wait only to see how it ends to join the victor.

"Be assured the magnitude of our obligations does but increase the energy of our efforts in the attempt to discharge our duty; and though we may, and probably shall, be overpowered, I can venture to say that the French army will be so much farther weakened before it prevails, as to be little able to profit by its dear-bought victory."

Letter 6th.—Tyre, off Jaffa,
May 30th.

Announcing the retreat of the French he says:—"The measure of their iniquities seems to have been filled up by

the massacre of the Turkish prisoners of Jaffa, in cold blood, three days after their capture.

"The plain of Nazareth has been the boundary of Bonaparte's extraordinary career. He raised the siege of Acre on the 20th May, *leaving all his heavy artillery behind him*, either buried or thrown into the sea, where, however, it is visible, and can easily be weighed."

* * * * *

"The knowledge the garrison had of the inhuman massacre at Jaffa, rendered them desperate in their personal defence. Recourse was had to a breach of every law of honour and war. A flag of truce was sent into the town by the hand of an Arab Dervise, with a letter to the Pacha, proposing a cessation of arms for the purpose of burying the dead bodies, the stench from which became intolerable, and threatened the existence of every one of us on both sides, many having died delirious, within a few days after being seized with the first symptoms of infection. It was natural that we should gladly listen to this proposition. While the answer was under consideration, a volley of shot and shells on a sudden announced an assault, which, however, the garrison was ready to receive, and the assailants only contributed to increase the number of dead bodies, to the eternal disgrace of the General who thus disloyally sacrificed them. I saved the life of the Arab from the effect of the indignation of the Turks.

"Subordination was now at an end, and all hopes of success having vanished, the enemy had no alternative *but a precipitate retreat*, which was put into execution in the night between the 20th and 21st May, 1799."

However conflicting may be these accounts, the result * speaks for itself. Bonaparte's career of usurpation and rapine,† was arrested before the walls of Acre, of whom we may exclaim with the poet:—

"Slight numbers back from thee whole legions send;
But they were English—they were British Tars,
Kings of the sea, and gods in Syrian wars!"

* The loss of the French before Acre was estimated at three thousand, including those who died of the plague. According to Bonaparte's bulletin 500 killed, and 1000 wounded,—these papers, drawn up or corrected by himself, are curious documents of history, if not of truth!

† The following extract from the Journal of a French General Officer, translated from the original, and published in 1816, will give a single instance to prove that this term is justifiable; it will be remembered that the writer is an officer of the army whose retreat he is describing:—

"On the 22nd the army lay at the ruins of Cesarea; on the following day a party of Naplousians appeared near the port of Abouhaboura, some of them were *taken and shot*, the rest fled; their object was to plunder the stragglers about the army in their march. On the 23rd we encamped within four leagues of Jaffa, near a small river. Detachments were ordered against some villages in the neighbourhood the inhabitants of which had, during the siege of Acre, attacked and plundered our convoys, and massacred the escorts; *these villages were burned, as were the surrounding crops, and the cattle carried off*. This vengeance was not only called for on the heads of the assassins, but authorized by the rigorous laws of war, which allow of depriving the enemy of all means of subsistence."

"PROCLAMATION.

"At the Head-Quarters before Acre, the 17th day of May, 1799, from Bonaparte, General-in-Chief.

"SOLDIERS,

"You have traversed the desert which separates Africa from Asia with the rapidity of an Arab force. The army which was on its march to invade Egypt is destroyed: you have taken its General, its field artillery, camels, and its baggage: you have taken all the fortified posts which secure the wells of the desert, and you have dispersed, in the district of Mount Tabor, those swarms of brigands, collected from all parts of Asia, in the hope of sharing the plunder of Egypt. The thirty ships which, twelve days since, you saw enter the port of Acre with troops, were destined for an attack upon Alexandria, but you compelled them to hasten to the relief of Acre, and several of their standards will contribute to adorn your triumphal entry into Egypt. Finally, after having, with a handful of men, maintained the war during three months in the heart of Syria, taken forty pieces of cannon, fifty stand of colours, captured six thousand prisoners, and razed or destroyed the fortifications of Gaza, Jaffa, Caiffa, and of Acre, *we prepare to return* to Egypt, where the approaching season for landing imperiously calls for our presence. A few days longer might give you the hope of taking the Pasha in his palace; but, at this season, the castle of *Acre is not worth the loss of those days*, nor of those brave soldiers who must fall in that time, and are now necessary for more

essential services. Soldiers!—we have yet a toilsome and perilous task to perform. After having secured ourselves from attacks from the eastward for this campaign, it will, perhaps, be necessary we should repel the efforts made from the west. You will, in that case, have new opportunities of acquiring glory; and if, engaged in so many encounters, each day is marked by the death of a brave comrade, fresh soldiers will come forward, and supply the ranks of that select number which best gives an irresistible impulse in the moment of danger, and commands victory."

On the 20th of May, at nine in the evening, the "generale" was beat, and the siege, which lasted sixty days after the opening of the trenches, was raised.

* * * * *

Nazareth Pilgrim's Certificate.

Page 101.

"Ego subscriptus religiosissimis ordinis M. S. P. N. Francisci, guardianus hujus Sanctæ Domus, civitatis Nazareth, in Provinciâ Galilææ, universis et singulis has litteras inspecturis, fidem facio indultarium, quod Dominus Major E. Napier, nationè Anglicanus, post multos labores, mari terraque suffertos, cum devotione et reverentiâ visitavit, adoravit, honoravitque hunc Sanctum Locum, ubi Filius Dei vivi, incarnatus fuit in ventre Purissimo Sanctissimæ Matris nostræ Virginis Mariæ et alias permultum.

"In quorum fidem has presentes litteras, propria manu subscripsi et sigillo munivi.

"Datum in hoc Nazarethano Conventu Die, 21 Decembris, anno Domini, 1840.

"F. DEODATUS, a Luca, guardianus."

PRINCE EDWARD IN PALESTINE.

Page 104.

Fuller, in his *Holy War*, gives the following quaint account of the services of the future conqueror of Wales and Scotland in the Holy Land.

After relating the death of Louis IX. of France before Tunis, in 1270, he goes on: "By this time Tunis was brought to great distress, and at last on these conditions surrendered (1271); that it should pay yearly to Charles, King of Sicily and Jerusalem, forty thousand crowns; that it should receive Christian ministers, freely to exercise their religion; if any Saracen would be baptized he should be suffered; that all Christian captives should be set free; that they should pay back so much money as should defray the Christian charges in this voyage. Our Edward would needs have had the town beaten down, and all put to the sword, thinking the foulest quarter too fair for them. Their goods (because got by robbery) he would have sacrificed as an *anathema* to God, and burnt to ashes: his own share he execrated, and caused it to be burnt, forbidding the English to save anything of it, because

that coals stolen out of that fire would sooner burn their houses than warm their hands. It troubled not the consciences of other princes to enrich themselves herewith, but they glutted themselves with the stolen honey which they found in this hive of drones; and which was worse, now their bellies were full they would go to bed, return home, and go no farther. Yea, the young King of France, called Philip the Bold, was fearful to prosecute his journey to Palestine; whereas Prince Edward struck his breast and swore, that though all his friends forsook him, yet he would enter Ptolemais, though but only with Fowin, his horsekeeper. By which speech he incensed the English to go on with him.

"The rest, pleading the distemperature of the weather, went to Sicily, in hope with change of air to recover their health; where many of them found what they sought to avoid, death; amongst other, Theobald King of Navarre, and Isabel his wife, and William Earl of Flanders, who ended their days at Drepanum. Besides, their navy was pursuivanted after with a horrible tempest, and a curse (entailed either on their ill-gotten goods, or deserting God's name, or both) arrested them in their return; so that of this great wealth little was landed in Europe, their ships being wrecked, and the goods therein cast into the sea, with which the waves played a little, and then dropped them up at a morsel. Whilst the weather, frowning on them, smiled on the English, Prince Edward, no whit damnified either in his men or ships, with Eleanor his tender consort, then young with child, safely arrived at Ptolemais, to the great solace and comfort of the Christians there, being in great distress.

"At his arrival the last stake of the Christians was on losing; for Bendocdar, the Mameluke Prince of Egypt and Syria, had brought Ptolemais to so low an ebb, that they therein resolved (if some unexpected succour reversed not their intentions) within three days, to resign the city unto him. Edward landing stayed this precipitation, who arrived with his army there in the very *interim*, in opportunity itself, which is the very quintessence of time; so that all concluded his coming (thus hitting the mark) was guided by the hand of an especial Providence.

"And now those who before in despair would have thrown down their cards, hope at least to make a saving game; and the Christians, taking comfort and courage, both defy their enemies, and their own thoughts of surrendering the city. Prince Edward having sufficiently manned and victualled Ptolemais, taking six or seven thousand soldiers marched to Nazareth, which he took, and slew those he found there. After this, about Midsummer, understanding the Turks were gathered together at Cakhow forty miles off, very early in the morning, he set upon them, slew a thousand, and put the rest to flight.

"In these skirmishes he gave evident testimonies of his personal valour; yea, in cold blood he would boldly challenge any infidel to a duel. To speak truth, this his conceived perfection was his greatest imperfection; for the world was abundantly satisfied in the point of his valour, yet such was his confidence of his strength, and eagerness of honour, that having merited the esteem of a most stout man, he would still supererogate; yea, he would proffer to fight with any mean person, if cried up by the *volge* for a tall man; this daring being a general fault in great spirits,

and a great fault in a General, who staketh a pearl against a piece of glass. The best was, in that age a man fighting with sword and buckler had in a manner many lives to lose, and duels were not dangerous.

"Whilst he stayed at Ptolemais, Eleanor, his lady, was delivered of a fair daughter, called, from her birth-place, Joan of Acre; but fear of her husband's death abated her joy at her daughter's birth. The Turks, not matching him in valour, thought to master him with treachery, which was thus contrived:—The Admiral of Joppa, a Turk, pretended he would turn Christian, and employed one Anzazim, an assassin, in the business betwixt him and Prince Edward; who carried himself so cunningly, that by often repairing to our Prince, he got much credit and esteem with him.

"Some write this Anzazim was before always bred undergrounds, (as men keep hawks and war-horses in the dark, to make them more fierce,) that so coming abroad, he should fear to venture on no man. But sure, so cunning a companion had long conversed with light, and been acquainted with men, yea, Christians and princes, as appeareth by his complying carriage; else, if he had not been well read in their company, he would not have been so perfect in his lesson. But let him be bred any where, or in hell itself; for this was his religion, to kill any he was commanded, or, on the non-performance, willingly to forfeit his life.

"(1272.) The fifth time of his coming, he brought Prince Edward letters from his master, which, whilst he was reading alone, and lying on his bed, he struck him

into the arm with an envenomed knife. Being about to fetch another stroke, the Prince, with his foot, gave him such a blow that he felled him to the ground, and wresting the knife from him, ran the Turk into the belly, and slew him; yet so, that in struggling, he hurt himself therewith in the forehead. At this noise, in sprang his servants, and one of them, with a stool, beat the brains out of the dead Turk's head, showing little wit in his own; and the Prince was highly displeased, that the monument of his valour should be stained with another's cruelty.

"It is storied, how Eleanor, his lady, sucked all the poison out of his wounds, without doing any harm to herself; so sovereign a medicine is woman's tongue, anointed with the virtue of loving affection. Pity it is, so pretty a story should not be true, (with all the miracles in "Lover's Legends,") and sure he shall get himself no credit, who undertaketh to confute a passage so sounding to the honour of the sex; yet, can it not stand with that others have written, how the physician, who was to dress his wounds, spake to the Lord Edmund and the Lord John Vasey, to take away Lady Eleanor out of the Prince's presence, lest her pity should be cruel towards him, in not suffering his sores to be searched to the quick. And though she cried out, and wrung her hands, 'Madam,' said they, 'be contented; it is better that one woman should weep a little while than that all the realm of England should lament a great season:' and so they conducted her out of the place. And the Prince, by the benefit of physic, good attendance, and an antidote the

Master of the Templars gave him, shewed himself on horseback, whole and well, within fifteen days after.

"The Admiral of Joppa, hearing of his recovery, utterly disavowed that he had any hand in the treachery, as one will willingly father unsucceeding villany. True it is, he was truly sorrowful, whether because Edward was so bad, or no worse wounded, he knoweth that knoweth hearts. Some wholly acquit him herein, and conceive this mischief proceeded from Simon, Earl of Montfort's hatred to our Prince, who, bearing him, and all his kindred an old grudge, for doing some conceived wrong to his father, (in very deed nothing, but justice to a rebel,) hired, as they think, this assassin to murder him; as, a little before, for the same quarrel, he had served Henry, son to Richard, King of the Normans, and our Edward's cousin-german, at Viterbo, in Italy. It is much, this Simon living in France, should contrive this prince's death in Palestine; but malice hath long arms, and can take men off at a great distance. Yea, this addeth to the cunning of the engineer, to work unseen; and the further from him the blow is given, the less is he himself suspected.

"Whosoever plotted, God prevented it; and the Christians there would have revenged it, but Edward would not suffer them. In all haste, they would have marched and fallen on the Turks, had he not dissuaded them, because then many Christians unarmed, and in small companies, were gone to visit the Sepulchre, all whose throats had then probably been cut before their return.

"Eighteen months he stayed at Ptolemais, and then came back through Italy, without doing any extraordinary

matter in Palestine. What music can one string make when all the rest are broken? what could Edward do alone, when those princes fell back, on whom the project most relied? Louis and Charles were the main undertakers; Edward entertained but as an adventurer and sharer; and so he furnished himself accordingly, with competent forces to succour others, but not to subsist of themselves. But as too often, where the principal miscarrieth, the second and curetier must lie at the stake to make the debt good; so, in their default, he valiantly went forward, though having in all but thirteen ships, and some thousands of men, (too many for a plain prince to visit with, and too few for a great one to war with,) and performed what lay within the compass of his power. In a word, his coming to Ptolemais, and assisting them there, was like a cordial given to a dying man, which doth piece out his life, (or death rather,) a few groans and as many gasps the longer.

"By this time Henry, his aged father, being dead, (his lamp not quenched, but going out for want of oil,) the English nobility came as far as the Alps in Savoy to wait on Edward in his return. Leave we him then to be attended home by them, to receive the crown to which no less his virtues than his birth entitled him. Since the Conquest, he was the first king of his name, and the first that settled the law and state, (deserving the style of England's Justinian,) and that freed this kingdom from the wardship of the peers, showing himself, in all his actions after, capable to command, not the realm only, but the whole world."—*Fuller's History of the Holy War*, *pp.* 217—221.

A.—The Holy Sepulchre.

Page 146.

The following description is translated from the French of Deshayes, who in 1621 was sent to Palestine by Louis XIII. of France.

"The Holy Sepulchre and most of the Holy places are attended by friars of the Cordelier order, who are relieved in their vocations every three years, and although belonging to many different nations, they nevertheless pass for French or Venetians, and only subsist by the protection of the King (of France).

"About sixty years ago they resided out of the town on Mount Sion, at the place where our Saviour assembled with his apostles; but this church being converted into a mosque, they have since lived on Mount Gihon within the precincts of the city, where they have a convent called that of the Holy Sepulchre. It is here that their guardian is established with the body of the order, which sends forth monks to every part of the Holy Land where they may be required. From this convent to the church of the Holy Sepulchre, the distance does not exceed two hundred paces. The latter comprehends the Holy Sepulchre itself, Mount Calvary, and several other holy places.

"Sta. Helena first caused one part of this church to be constructed to cover in the Holy Sepulchre; but the Christian princes who succeeded her ordered this edifice to be increased, to take within its precincts the Mount Calvary, which is only fifty paces removed from the Holy Sepulchre.

"As I have already remarked, Mount Calvary was formerly situated without the walls of the city; it was anciently the place appropriated for the execution of such criminals as had been condemned to death, and in order to accommodate every body on these occasions, there was left a wide space between it and the walls of the town. The remainder of this eminence was surrounded by gardens, of which one belonged to Joseph of Arimathæa, a secret disciple of Jesus Christ, who had therein constructed a sepulchre, in which was deposited the body of our Saviour.

"It was not then the custom of the Jews to bury their dead in the same manner as we do in Christendom. Every one, according to his means, excavated a small grotto out of the rock, where the body was deposited on a table forming part of the rock itself; the cavity was then closed by placing a stone against the entrance, which in general was not above four feet high.

"The church of the Holy Sepulchre is extremely irregular in its construction, its shape being adapted to the localities it is meant to contain; it is nearly in the shape of a cross, about 120 paces long and 70 broad; its diameter is about 30 paces, and it is open above like the Rotunda at Rome. It is true it has no arch, the dome being supported by ribs of cedar wood brought from Mount Lebanon.

"Formerly the church was entered by three doors, but at present there is only one entrance, of which the Turks carefully keep the keys, lest the pilgrims should evade the payment of the thirty-six "livres," which amount each of them is now taxed, at least such as come from Christen-

dom, for the Christian subjects of the Grand Seguior do not pay one-half of that sum. This door is always kept closed, and has only one small opening crossed with an iron bar, through which provisions are conveyed to the inmates of the church, who are composed of eight different nations.

"The first is that of the Latins or Romans, represented by friars of the Cordelier order, who have charge of the Holy Sepulchre, that part of Mount Calvary where our Saviour was fastened to the cross; the spot where the holy cross was found; the Stone of *Unction;* and the chapel where our Saviour appeared to the Virgin Mary, after his resurrection.

"The second nation is that of the Greeks, who possess the choir of the church, where they officiate; in the midst of this is a small marble circle, the centre of which they regard as corresponding with the middle of the earth. The third nation consists of the Abyssinians; they claim the chapel where is placed the column of *Improperus.* The fourth are Cophts or Egyptian Christians; they have a small oratory near the Holy Sepulchre. The fifth is that of the Armenians; they have the chapel of Ste. Helena, and the one where the garments of our Saviour were distributed and cast lots for. The sixth nation is that of the Nestorians or Jacobities—from Chaldea and Syria; they possess a small chapel near the spot where our Saviour, under the shape of a gardener, appeared to Magdalen, and is thence called her chapel. The seventh nation is that of the Georgians, inhabiting the country between the Caspian and the *upper* Sea; they retain that part of Mount Cal-

vary where the cross was erected, and the prison where our Saviour was incarcerated whilst they were making the hole to plant it in. The eighth nation is that of the Maronites inhabiting Mount Lebanon, who acknowledge, as we do, the Pope.

"Each nation, besides these localities, which every one can visit, has moreover some private spot in the vaults and in the corners of the church, which serves as an asylum, and where each officiate according to their respective rites, as the priests and friars who enter this sanctuary generally remain a couple of months, until they are relieved by others sent from the convent to which they may belong. By remaining a longer period their health would run serious risks—as the air of the place is very confined, whilst unwholesome damps constantly exude from its vaults and walls. We, however, found a good hermit of the order of St. Francis, who has been here twenty years without ever going out; though such was the continual labour he was subject to, in constantly keeping alight two hundred lamps, and in daily clearing and decorating all the holy places, that he had only four hours rest out of the four and twenty.

"On first entering the church, is seen the Stone of *Unction*, on which the body of our Saviour was anointed with myrrh and aloes, before it was deposited in the sepulchre.

"Some aver it is composed of the same substance as the rock of Mount Calvary, whilst others maintain that it is a species of verd antique, and was brought to this spot by Joseph and Nicodemus, the secret disciples of Jesus

Christ,—who tendered this last pious office to his memory; be that as it may, in consequence of the indiscretion of the pilgrims, who were wont to break off fragments of this relic, it has been thought necessary to cover it with a slab of white marble, and to surround it with a low iron railing to prevent it from being trampled under foot. It is seven feet nine inches long, and one foot eleven inches broad; whilst above it are suspended eight lamps, which are kept constantly burning.

"The Holy Sepulchre is thirty paces from this stone, exactly under the centre of the great dome, which I have already mentioned, and resembles a small chamber worked with the chisel out of the solid rock. The entrance to it facing the east is only four feet high and two and a quarter wide, so that it is requisite to stoop greatly in order to enter within. The interior of the sepulchre is nearly square. It is five feet ten inches broad, and seven feet eleven inches high, from the floor to the roof. There is here a solid table composed of the same rock hollowed out in constructing the grotto. This table is two feet four inches and a half high, and contains one half of the sepulchre, for it is five feet eleven inches long and two thirds and a half as broad. On this table the body of our Saviour was placed, with his head to the west and his feet to the east. But owing to the superstitious devotion of the Orientals, who imagined that by leaving some of their hair on this stone, God would never abandon them, and also, by reason of Pilgrims breaking off fragments of it, it has been covered with a white marble slab on which mass is at present celebrated. Forty-four lamps constantly

burn in this holy spot, and to allow the smoke to escape, three holes have been made in the roof.

"The exterior of the Sepulchre is also covered with marble slabs and adorned with several columns, over which is placed a dome. At the entrance of the doorway to the sepulchre, there is a stone a foot and a half square and raised to the height of one foot, on which rested the large block, closing the entrance of the sepulchre; it was on this stone that the angel placed himself, when addressing the two Marys; and as much on account of this mystery, as not to enter at once into the Holy Sepulchre, the first Christians built here a small chapel which goes by the name of the Angel's chapel.

"Twelve paces from the Sepulchre, in a northerly direction, is seen a large block of grey marble of about four feet in diameter, which has been there placed to point out the spot where our Saviour shewed himself to Magdalen under the shape of a gardener. Further on is the Chapel of the Apparition, where tradition says that our Saviour first appeared to the Virgin Mary after his resurrection; this is the spot appropriated to the Cordelier Friars, when they celebrate their devotions, and to which they retire, as from thence they enter several chambers, having no other outlet save through this chapel.

"Continuing the tour of the church we next come to a small vaulted chapel, of seven feet in length and six feet broad, which is otherwise called the prison of our Saviour, from his having been kept here, while awaiting the completion of the hole in which to fix the cross. The chapel is immediately opposite to Mount Calvary, so that these two spots form, as it were, one branch of the cross of the church, the

mount being on the south, whilst the chapel is situated on the north.

" Near this is another chapel five feet long and three broad, placed at the spot where our Saviour was stripped by the soldiers, before he was fixed to the cross, and where lots were cast for his clothes.

" Issuing from this chapel, is seen, on the left hand side, a large staircase which, piercing the wall of the church, descends into a species of cellar excavated from the rock. After having descended thirty steps, on our left hand, we found a chapel commonly called the Chapel of S^ta^. Helena, as she was there engaged in prayer at the time she caused search to be made for the holy cross; a descent of eleven more steps conducts to the spot where the latter was found with the nails, the crown of thorns and the spear-head, which had been concealed here for upwards of three centuries.

"Near the top of this stair-case, in the direction of Mount Calvary, is a chapel four paces long and two and a half broad, under whose altar is seen a column of grey marble, marked with black spots, two feet high and one foot in diameter; it is called the column of *Improperus*, because our Saviour was seated thereon when crowned with thorns. Ten paces from this chapel is seen a very narrow stair-case, of which the steps are first of wood, and finally of stone, and by twenty of these Mount Calvary is ascended.

" This place formerly so notoriously ignominious, having been sanctified by the blood of our Saviour, was taken the greatest care of by the primitive Christians, and after carefully removing all the earth and soil with which it was

covered, they enclosed it with walls, so that it now resembles a high chapel, within this spacious church; and, is moreover covered above with marble, and divided into two portions by an arcade. That part towards the north is the spot where our Saviour was nailed to the cross. Here thirty-six lamps, maintained by the Cordeliers, are kept constantly burning, who likewise every day celebrate mass on this spot.

"On the other side, towards the south, was fixed the holy cross. The hole in which it rested is chiselled out of the rock, to the depth of about a foot and a half, exclusive of the earth with which it was then covered. The spot where were crucified the two thieves is near at hand. The cross of the good thief was placed to the north, that of the other to the south; so that the first was on the right hand of our Saviour, who was then looking towards the west, with his back turned on Jerusalem. Forty lamps constantly burn here in honour of this holy spot. Beneath this chapel are the sepulchres of Godfrey de Bouillon, and of his brother Baldwin, and the following inscriptions are here legible:—

Hic Jacet Inclytus Dux Godefridus de
Bulion, qui Totam Istam Terram ac-
quisivit Cultui Christiano, Cujus
Anima Regnet cum Christo. Amen.

Rex Balduinus, Judas Alter Machabeus
Spes Patriæ, Vigor Ecclesiæ Virtus utriusque
quem Formidabant, Cui Dona Tributa Ferebant
Cedor et Ægyptus, Dan ac Hodicida Damascus
Proh Dolor! In Modico Clauditur Hoc Tumulo.

"Mount Calvary is the last station of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre; for twenty paces off, is the Stone of *Unction*, which is immediately opposite the entrance of the church."

B.—General Ignorance of the Friars in the Holy Land.

Page 146.

Lamartine, who, in general, looks on monastic institutions in a favourable point of view, says, whilst speaking of the friars of the Convent at Nazareth:—

"And who are these monks? In general, Spanish or Italian peasants, who, having assumed the cowl in early youth, and becoming tired of the monastic life, wish to diversify its monotony by visiting other countries; and therefore apply to be sent to the Holy Land, where their residence generally does not extend beyond three years; and the vessel which takes them away, brings others in their stead. Those who learn the Arabic language, and devote themselves to the service of the Catholic population of the towns, remain longer, and sometimes spend their lives in this country. Their occupations are those of our country curates; but they are more respected and venerated. The others remain shut up in their convents, or go, during their pilgrimage, from one house to another, either at Nazareth or Bethlehem, Jerusalem or Jaffa, and

sometimes to the Convent of St. John in the desert. They have no other occupation than to officiate in the churches, and to walk in the gardens or on the terraces of the convent; no books—no studies—no useful employments. They are devoured by "ennui"—dissensions arise in the convents, where the Spaniards slander the Italians, and the Italians the Spaniards. We did not find one who could sustain the least reasonable conversation, even on those subjects with which their avocation should have made them most familiar: no knowledge of sacred antiquity, of the fathers of the church, or of the history of the places they inhabit.

* * * * *

"But the granaries of the convent are well filled, *and their cellars contain the best wines the country produces;* and which they alone know how to manufacture. Every two years a vessel arrives from Spain, bringing the revenues supplied by the Catholic powers: this sum, increased by the pious contributions of the Christians of Egypt and Greece, Constantinople and Syria, is said to constitute a revenue of between three and four hundred thousand francs."

THE VALLEY OF JEHOSHAPHAT.

Page 176.

Maundrell thus accurately describes the principal points of interest in the Valley of Jehoshaphat:—

"Proceeding northward in the Valley of Jehoshaphat,

the first thing you are conducted to, is the well of Nehemiah; so called, because reported to be the same place from which the restorer of Israel recovered the fire of the altar, after the Babylonish captivity, (2 Mac. i. 19.) A little higher in the valley you come to a tree supposed to mark out the place where the evangelical prophet was sawn asunder. About one hundred paces higher, on the same side, is the pool of Siloam. It was anciently dignified with a church built over it; but when we were there, a tanner made no scruple to dress his hides in it. Going about a furlong further, on the same side, you come to the Fountain of the Blessed Virgin; so called because she was wont, (as was reported,) to resort thither for water; but at what time, and upon what occasion, is not yet agreed.

"Over against this fountain, on the other side of the valley, is a village called Siloe, in which Solomon is said to have kept his strange wives; and above the village is a hill called the Mountain of Offence, because there Solomon built the "high places" mentioned in 1 Kings, xi. 7. his wives having perverted his heart, to follow their idolatrous abominations, in his declining years. On the same side, and not far distant from Siloé, they shew another, Aceldama, or Field of Blood; so called, because there it was that Judas, by the just judgment of God, met with his compounded death, (Matt. xxvii. 5.—Acts i. 18, 19.) A little further on, the same side of the valley, they shewed us several Jewish monuments; amongst the rest, there are two noble antiquities, which they call the Sepulchre of Zachary, and the Pillar of Absalom.

Close by the latter is the Sepulchre of Jehoshaphat, from which the whole valley takes its name."

* * * * *

THE FOLLOWING ARE SOME OF THE LETTERS RECEIVED BY THE AUTHOR AT NAPLOUSE, THE 29TH DECEMBER, 1840, AND REFERRED TO AT PAGE 194.

1.—LETTER FROM LIEUTENANT ALDRICH, ASSISTANT MILITARY SECRETARY TO GENERAL MACHELL.

"*Head Quarters, Beyrout,*
22nd December, 1840.

"SIR,

"I am directed by the Brigadier General commanding to acknowledge the receipt of your letters of the 15th and 20th instant; he feels obliged by the information they contain, and I have to acquaint you, as your leisure will permit, that he will be most happy at all times to receive from you every information you obtain, and every sketch or memorandum of the country you make,—and especially, by your earliest convenient opportunity, your report in detail of the road you travelled, from Kabilies to Acre, which at the present moment will be most valuable. He will take the earliest opportunity of representing to the proper authorities, in the strongest terms, the necessity of inquiry into the murder of Sheikh Fadl-al-Hassan, and he will again apply to them to send your proper credentials, notifying the authority of your employment, and the

particular attention you should receive from your relationship to Commodore Napier.

"With reference to the question you have asked, in the last paragraph of your letter of the 20th instant, if you are to notify to the Governor of Naplouse that you are inquiring into the complaints that are made against him? the Brigadier-General thinks it would not be advisable that you should do so; but that you should, while prosecuting your inquiries, treat him in every respect in a friendly manner, bearing in mind the instructions you have received, dated 12th December, 1840.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your obedient humble servant,

"EDWARD ALDRICH, Lieutenant,

"Assistant Military Secretary.

"*To Major Napier, 46th Regiment.*"

2.—LETTER FROM COMMODORE NAPIER.

"*Powerful, Marmorice Bay, December 10th* 1840.

"MY DEAR EDWARD,

"I enclose you some letters I have just received. It appears the Admiral, who at first was pleased with my Convention, was persuaded to change his mind, and send Mehemet Ali's messenger back again, and despatches have since come from England to offer Mehemet Ali the Pashalic of Syria, but not hereditarily. We are a set of

fools for our pains, and I am satisfied he will not accept them, and they will be obliged to come in to my terms at last.

"We have had a terrible gale of wind. Our fore-channels have been started up, and we nearly lost our masts; the Rodney and Cambridge's rigging also got slack, and we have all felt it very much. I arrived here two days ago, and the Admiral came yesterday, and Bellerophon, who were providentially saved by a shift of wind, near Tortosa. We, I suppose, shall remain here the greater part of the winter; indeed I don't know how long it will take to repair our channels, as they must come off.

* * * * * *

Tell the Prince that I got all the Emirs and Sheikhs that were sent to Alexandria released, and I hope the rejection of my Convention will not hurt them. I suppose the Mountaineers have gone to their homes. Remember me most kindly to the Prince. I have got his letter, but there is no one here can translate it. I have had handsome letters from Lord Minto, but nothing else. Let me know what you are about. Many officers will join you in the Hecate, and it is said that Sir Charles Smith goes back to Gibraltar.

"Believe me,

"Your affectionate father,

"CHARLES NAPIER."

"*To Major-General Napier, &c. &c., Beyrout.*"

3.—EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM LORD PONSONBY TO COMMODORE NAPIER.

"*Constantinople, December* 7, 1840.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"Immediately upon receipt of your letter, I applied to the Ottoman Minister for the appointment of your son, Major Napier, of the 46th regiment, to the rank in the Turkish army you desired he should obtain, and I have the highest gratification in being able to acquaint you that the Minister proposed the appointment to the Sultan, and that his Imperial Majesty was pleased to order that it should be granted; his Majesty being pleased to express his satisfaction at being able to comply with the wishes of a person of your high merit.

"I have, &c.

(Signed) "PONSONBY."

This, like many other promises, was never fulfilled; and if it ever was made by the Sultan, "his Imperial Majesty" owes the author not only the "Nishan" of the dignity, but the pay and allowances of a "one-tailed Pasha," from the above date, and is likely to do so to a most indefinite future period.

CASTEL PELLEGRINO.

Page 227.

"The Templars, to retain and strengthen their dominion in Palestine, commenced the erection of various strong fortresses, the stupendous ruins of many of which remain to this day. The most famous of these was the Pilgrim's Castle,* which commanded the coast-road from Acre to Jerusalem. It derived its name from a solitary tower, erected by the early Templars to protect the passage of the Pilgrims through a dangerous pass in the mountains bordering the sea-coast, and was commenced shortly after the removal of the chief house of the order from Jerusalem to Acre. A small promontory which juts out into the sea, a few miles below Mount Carmel, was converted into a fortified camp. Two gigantic towers, a hundred feet in height, and seventy-four feet in width, were erected, together with enormous bastions, connected together by strong walls furnished with all kinds of military engines. The vast inclosure contained a palace for the use of the Grand Master and knights, a magnificent church, houses, and offices for the serving brethren and hired soldiers, together with pasturages, vineyards, gardens, orchards, and fish-ponds. On one side of the walls was the salt sea, and on the other, within the camp, delicious springs of fresh water. The garrison amounted to four thousand men in time of

* "Castrum nostrum quod Peregrinorum dicitur." See the letter of the Grand Master. *Matt. Par.* p. 312, and *Jac. de Vitr.* lib. iii. apud Gest. Dei, p. 1131.

Considerable remains of this famous fortress are still visible on the coast, a few miles to the south of Acre. It is still called by the Levantines, *Castel Pellegrino*. Pococke describes it as "very magnificent, and so finely built, that it may be reckoned one of the things that are the best worth seeing in these parts." "It is encompassed," says he, "with two walls fifteen feet thick, the inner wall on the east side cannot be less than forty feet high, and within it there appears to have been some very grand apartments. The offices of the fortress seem to have been at the west end, where I saw an oven fifteen feet in diameter. In the castle there are remains of a fine lofty church of ten sides, built in a light gothic taste: three chapels are built to the three eastern sides, each of which consists of five sides, excepting the opening to the church; in these it is probable the three chief altars stood."† Irby and Mangles, referring at a subsequent period to the ruins of the church, describe it as a double hexagon, and state that the half then standing had six sides. Below the cornice are human heads, and heads of animals in alto relievo, and the walls are adorned with a double line of arches in the gothic style, the architecture light and elegant."—*Addison's History of the Knights Templars.*

"Opus egregium," says *James of Vitry*, "ubi tot et tantas effuderunt divitias, quod mirum est unde eas accipiunt." *Hist. Orient.* lib. iii. apud Gest Dei. tom. i. pars 97, page 1131. *Martine*, tom. iii. col. 288. Hist. capt. Damietæ, apud Hist. Angl. script. xv. p. 437, 438, where it is called Castrum Filii Dei.

† *Pococke*, Travels in the East, b. i. c. 15.

CÆSAREA.

Page 279.

"Now upon his (Herod's) observation of a place near the sea, which was very proper for containing a city, and was, before, called Strato's tower, he set about getting a place for a magnificent city there, and erected many edifices with great diligence all over it, and this of white stone. He also adorned it with most sumptuous palaces, and large edifices for containing the people; and what was the greatest and most laborious work of all, he adorned it with a haven, that was always free from the sea. Its largeness was not less than the Pyræus at Athens, and had towards the city a double station for the ships.

"It was of excellent workmanship, and this was the more remarkable for its being built in a place that of itself was not suitable to such noble structures, but was to be brought to perfection by materials from other places, and at very great expenses. This city is situate in Phœnizia, in the passage by sea to Egypt, between Joppa (Jaffa,) and Dora, which are lesser maritime cities, and not fit for havens, on account of the impetuous south winds that beat upon them, which, rolling the sands that come from the sea against the shores, do not admit of ships lying in their station; but the merchants are generally there forced to ride at their anchors in the sea itself. So Herod endeavoured to rectify this inconvenience, and laid out such a compass towards the land as might be sufficient for a haven, wherein the great ships might lie in safety; and this he effected by letting down vast stones of above fifty

feet in length, not less than eighteen in breadth, and nine in depth, into twenty fathom deep, and, as some were lesser, so were others bigger than these dimensions. This mole, which he built by the sea-side, was two hundred feet wide: the half of which was opposed to the current of the waves, so as to keep off those waves that were to break upon them, and so were called Procymatia, or the first breaker of the waves; but the other half had upon it a wall with several towers, the largest of which was named Drusus, and was a work of very great excellence, and had its name from Drusus, the son-in-law of Cæsar, who died young. There were also a great number of arches where the mariners dwelt. There was also before them a quay, (or landing-place,) which ran round the entire haven, and was a most agreeable walk to such as had a mind to that exercise; but the entrance or mouth of the port was made on the north quarter, on which side was the stillest of the winds of all in this place.

* * *

"Nay, the very subterranean vaults and cellars had no less of architecture bestowed on them than had the building above ground.

* *

"Herod also built therein a theatre of stone; and, on the south quarter behind the port, an amphitheatre also, capable of holding a vast number of men, and conveniently situated for a prospect to the sea. So the city was thus finished in twelve years, during which time the king did not fail both to go on with the works and to pay the charges that were necessary."—*Josephus*, (b. xv. c. 9.)

The Massacre at Jaffa.

Page 290.

"Jaffa is situated on an eminence: nearly in the centre of the town is an old ruinous building, called the citadel, on the top of which is a round casemated tower, provided with one or two pieces of ordnance. This work, which by no means appears calculated to repel the attack of an enemy from without, seems rather intended to overawe the place itself, in the event of intestine commotion.

"The city is surrounded by a stone wall, provided, at certain distances, with towers alternately square and round. Notwithstanding this wall cannot boast of any great strength, it sufficed to force Bonaparte's army to break ground, and to erect batteries against it to the southward. After a breach had been effected, the French troops stormed and carried the place. It was probably owing to the obstinate defence made by the Turks, that the French Commander-in-chief was induced to give orders for the horrid massacre which succeeded. Four thousand of the wretched inhabitants, who had surrendered, and who had in vain implored the mercy of their conquerors, were, together with a part of the late Turkish garrison of El-Arish, (amounting, it is said, to five or six hundred,) dragged out in cold blood, *four days after the French had obtained possession of Jaffa*, to the sand-hills, about a league distant, in the way to Gaza, and there most inhumanly put to death. I have seen the skeletons of these unfortunate victims, which lie scattered over the

hills, a modern Golgotha, which remains a lasting disgrace to a nation calling itself civilised.

"It would give pleasure to the author of this work, as well as to every mind, to hear these facts contradicted on substantial evidence. Indeed, I am sorry to add, that the charge of cruelty against the French General does not rest here. It having been reported that, previously to the retreat of the French army from Syria, their Commander-in-chief had ordered all the French sick at Jaffa to be poisoned, I was led to make the enquiry to which every one, who should have visited the spot, would naturally have been directed, respecting an act of such injustice and, it should seem, wanton inhumanity. It concerns me to have to state, not only that such a circumstance was positively asserted to have happened; but that, while in Egypt, an individual was pointed out to us, as having been the executioner of these diabolical commands."—*Dr. Willman's Travels in Syria, (chap. 8. page 27.)*

The Dead Sea.

Page 326.

In reply to an application made to him on the subject, Lieut. Symonds, Royal Engineers, kindly gave the author the following information relative to the Dead Sea, of the shores of which he had been employed in making a survey during the late expedition to Syria:—

"I regret to say that your letter, dated May 4th, was put into my hands when I was on the point of starting on a

pedestrian tour through the Highlands, and, not having taken my notes with me, I found it impossible then to answer the questions, and trust that the delay has not put you to any inconvenience.

1. "The Dead Sea may be said to be from 45 to 48 miles long, by an average width of 7½—being, at some places as much as 10 miles broad, and at others only 5 or 6.

2. "As to whether it has formerly covered a greator or less extent of ground, it is difficult to say. It certainly varies in height at different times of the year; but not more than about four feet; and as the ground about its northern and western banks shews no evidence of having been washed by the sea, I should say that it has preserved its present level for a great length of time. Whilst on the subject of this level, I may here mention a fact that must interest you. By the sections I ran through the country from Acre to Tabaria and from Jaffa to the Dead Sea, it appears, in *both* cases, that the prolongation of the Mediterranean level cuts out *just* at the top of the cliffs, or at the point where the separation or fracture takes place. Evidently shewing or giving one good reason to suppose that at one time the *whole* of the valley of the Jordan must have been on or about the Mediterranean level, as the cliff can be traced in a direct line from south of the Dead Sea up to the Lake of Tabaria.

3. "As to the *average* depth, &c. that is very uncertain, as only one boat is remembered to have been on it, and that was taken there by an Irishman from Acre *via* Tabaria, who died whilst so employed, and is buried at Jerusalem. His soundings are lost: but in many parts,

with a line of 200 fathoms, no bottom could be found. This was told to me by a gentleman who saw his book, which has been traced as far as Ireland.

5. "The bitumen is principally to be found on the southern shores; I only saw a few insignificant pieces on the north end.

6. "I discovered no ruined town or village on its south side.

7. "Its western bank is a continuous cliff, intersected by abrupt ravines, such as about Santa Saba, and it is only during the dry season that that side can be travelled—there is no road.

8. "I am not well acquainted with the country south-east of the Dead Sea, but the principal obstacle that Ibrahim must have found in his march on Gaza, was the total absence of fresh water and bad roads. There is such an incrustation of saline matter, for some distance round the Dead Sea, that renders all of its small tributary streams salt or brackish.

9. "I neither saw, nor could get any account of any warm spring in the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea.

10. "I bathed in it (I regret to say) and found but little difference in its buoyancy, compared to that of sea water; it certainly has the advantage—but not sufficiently so to prevent a person from drowning himself in it.* As to its taste, conceive what the brine out of a salt beef cask would be, being strongly impregnated with bitumen. So bad is it, that it requires *many pipes* to remove the nauseous taste, even when the tongue has been only

* Vide Josephus.

touched with the finger, after being dipped in it. As I was covered with flea-bites at the time, it has made an everlasting impression.

11. "As to whether its waters ever escaped south, it is very difficult to answer, and is open to discussion, but conceiving, as I do, this sea, or rather the River Jordan *at this point*, to have been once on the level of the Mediterranean, it is easy to suppose that it continued its course to the Red Sea, and that the sinking of the valley of the Jordan caused the accumulation of water, which now forms the Dead Sea. Robinson says that, at one time, the land south of it was highly cultivated, and that Wadi-el-Houssan is the bed of a stream that ran north *into* the Dead Sea;—not as supposed by some the ancient bed of Jordan.

12. "I saw neither 'apples' nor 'balsam,' but perhaps was unfortunate, or may be was wanting in observation,—but, strange to say, saw small fish, in the little pools along shore,—no doubt thrown up by the wash of the sea—so that we may reasonably conclude that the sea contains large fish."

* * * * * *

"*London, July 2nd*, 1842."

Letter from Commodore Napier.

Page 336.

"*Carysfort, Alexandria, January* 12*th*, 1841.

"My dear Edward,

"I hope this will find you returned from your Naplous Expedition safe and sound,—my Convention has been highly approved of at home; I had a very handsome letter from * * * * * and I am here carrying it into execution, the Turkish fleet is given up, and I hear Ibrahim will be at Gaza on the 15th, if you have not stopped him.

"Remember me to the Prince, and say that orders have been sent to Nubia for the Emirs and Sheikhs, and when they arrive here, I will have them sent to Beirout or where they like to go, but I fear it will take some time. In great haste,

Believe me,

Your affectionate Father,

"Charles Napier.

"*To Major-General Napier, &c. &c.*'

Subjoined is Commodore Napier's own account of the approval of the Convention:—

"On the 5th of January 1841, the Megæra arrived from England. I was aware she must either bring my sentence of acquittal or condemnation, and having been already denounced by the wise men of the East, I felt it was not impossible that their opinion might have influenced the judgment of the ministers of the West, if unfortunately their protests had arrived in London before my despatches from Alexandria. I had, however, taken

precautions to prevent this, which fortunately succeeded, and they were left to their own calm judgment, which decided in my favour.

"I had a party dining with me that day, when numerous letters, public and private, were put into my hand by the officer of the watch. I laid them on the table, determined not to run the risk of spoiling my dinner by bad news, and not requiring good to give me an appetite. After the inward man had been well fortified, I ventured to open a letter from Lord Minto, which, to my great satisfaction, announced to me that the Government were satisfied with what I had done, with the exception of the guarantee. I received also letters from various members of the Government, and an official one from the Admiral, enclosing an instruction from Lord Palmerston to the Admiralty, bearing date December 15th, 1840, some extracts of which I subjoin.*

"'I have to request your Lordships to convey to Commodore Napier the approval of Her Majesty's Government of the steps taken by him on this occasion, though without any instructions to the effect, and upon his own responsibility, to carry into execution the arrangements contemplated by the treaty of the 15th July, and to put an end to the contest in the Levant.

"'But the instructions given by your Lordships to Sir Robert Stopford, in pursuance of my letter of the 14th of November,† will have reached Sir Robert Stopford a few days after he received from Commodore Napier a

* See Levant Papers, part iii. p. 87.

† Commodore Napier's War in Syria, p. 15.

report of the result of his negociation at Alexandria; and it is uncertain whether Sir Robert Stopford will have considered the instruction of the 14th of November as superseding Commodore Napier's arrangement, or whether he will have looked upon Commodore Napier's arrangement as superseding that instruction.

"'In this state of things Her Majesty's Government must postpone a final communication with respect to the arrangement made by Commodore Napier, till they learn, as they probably will in a few days' time, what course Sir Robert Stopford took upon the receipt of the instruction of the 14th of November. But there is one part of the Articles signed by Commodore Napier and Boghos Bey, upon which it is necessary that an instruction should immediately be sent to Sir Robert Stopford.

"'In the first Article, Boghos Bey, on the part of Mehemet Ali, takes two engagements: the one is to order the Egyptian troops to evacuate Syria; the other is to restore the Turkish fleet. The first engagement was to be fulfilled immediately, and was to be conditional only upon the promise of Commodore Napier that he would, in his capacity of Commander of the British fleet before Alexandria, suspend hostility against Alexandria, and every other part of the Egyptian territory. The other engagement was eventual, and was to be fulfilled as soon as Mehemet Ali should have received an official notification that the Porte grants him the hereditary government of Egypt, and that this concession is, and shall continue to be, under the guarantee of the Four Powers. Now it is necessary that Sir Robert Stopford should lose no time in making known to Mehemet

Ali that this last demand of his, that the Four Powers should guarantee to him the grant of the hereditary government of Egypt, if that grant should be made to him by the Sultan, cannot be complied with.'

"'That which the Four Powers will do, is to recommend to the Porte to make the concessions specified in the communications which Sir Robert Stopford has been instructed to convey to Mehemet Ali.'

"A despatch of the same tendency was addressed (December 17,) by Viscount Palmerston to the Ambassador,* in which he remarks:—

"'A doubt may have been felt by your excellency and your colleagues, what steps you should take in pursuance of the instructions contained in despatch of the 15th of October, and in the corresponding instructions sent from Vienna, Petersburgh, and Berlin; because those instructions modified by the subsequent letter to the Admiralty, of November the 14th, contemplated the unconditional submission of Mehemet Ali to the Sultan, as a preliminary to the advice to be given to the Porte to reinstate Mehemet Ali in the government of Egypt; and, on the contrary, Mehemet Ali, in the demands which he sets forth in the first article of the agreement, signed on the 27th of November, engages to restore the fleet only on two conditions; the one being, that the Sultan should grant him hereditary tenure in the government of Egypt; and the other being, that such grant, on the part of the Sultan, should be placed under the guarantee of the Four Powers.

* See "Levant Papers," Part III. p. 88.

"'It appears to her Majesty's Government, that the fact that Mehemet Ali attached the first of these conditions to his restoration of the fleet, need not prevent the Porte from making to him that concession. For, in fact, those Articles of Agreement were substantially a complete surrender on the part of Mehemet Ali; and he was led to suppose that, in asking for hereditary tenure, he was only asking that which the Porte was willing to give. But the second condition, namely, the guarantee of the Four Powers, is one which cannot be complied with; and your Excellency should, on this point, give to the Porte the same explanations which Sir Robert Stopford has been instructed, in pursuance of my letter to the Admiralty of the 15th instant, to give to Mehemet Ali.

"'It has been reported, but upon what authority is not known, that the Porte was, towards the end of November, but before it had heard of the submission of Mehemet Ali, disinclined to revoke the decree which had deprived him of the Government of Egypt. It is not unnatural that such a feeling should have existed at that time in the mind of the Turkish Government; but her Majesty's Government hope that subsequent events, and the unanimous advice of the Four Powers, will have removed these objections on the part of the Porte, and will have led the Porte to accept the settlement effected by Commodore Napier's engagement, or by the subsequent more ample submission of Mehemet Ali.'

"Lord Palmerston's letter to Lord Ponsonby, acknowledging the receipt of the Ambassador's letter announcing the rejection of the Convention, as I have

before said, has never been published; it would be a curious document, and I dare say, will come to light some day or other; but Lord Palmerston's despatch to Lord Ponsonby, after receiving my despatches, is clear enough; he tells the Ambassador plainly, that it does not signify whether Sir Robert Stopford adopted my Convention, or his subsequent instruction of the 14th of November; that the Articles of Agreement were substantially a complete surrender, on the part of Mehemet Ali; and he was led to suppose, in asking for the hereditary tenure, he was only asking that which the Porte was willing to give; but that the guarantee could not be complied with."

REPORT OF GENERAL JOCHMUS TO ADMIRAL STOPFORD.

Page 346.

Head Quarters, Jaffa, Jan. 17th, 1841.

"SIR,

"I have the honour to inform your Excellency that, on the 14th instant, I directed a division of ten battalions of infantry, one thousand eight hundred irregular and Tartar horse, one hundred and fifty regular cavalry, and fourteen pieces of artillery, to march from Rāmlā towards Gaza.

"This latter village is abandoned by the enemy, who has a flying camp of one thousand two hundred regular, and one thousand eight hundred irregular horse, with eight pieces of horse artillery, at three quarters of an hour

march south of Gaza, whence he draws his f
provisions: but ravages at the sam
carrying off cattle and mules, t
of the villages south of

"The object of r
these villages, but
enemy's provisions
tressed in the desert,
Dead Sea, towards

"On the 14th of
Ashdod; on the 15
three hours to
heavy rain which

"Towards the afternoon, a reconnoiter
enemy, of five hundred horse, approached the camp; but the commanding officer making a very silly manœuvre was taken in flank and rear, by about four or five hundred of our cavalry, who pursued him for two hours, taking between forty and fifty prisoners, and killing and wounding as many. Our loss was about four killed, and twelve wounded.

"Hearing nothing positive about Ibrahim's immediate approach, and the low country towards Gaza having become a complete marsh, by the continued floods of rain up to the 16th in the evening, and the troops having been completely drenched, day and night, in the bivouacs, I suspended the movement, and sent the infantry and guns to Jaffa, advancing, at the same time, the cavalry detachments, to the neighbourhood of Ascalon, and some villages towards the river of that name, with their head-quarters at El-Meshdel, intending to resume the operations

the ground had become practicable; but on
informed officially of the complete
Pasha and the consequent ces-
of his army, our troops
nsive hostilities. His
charias Pasha, com-
.

CHMUS,
Lieutenant-General."

LETTER FROM COMMODORE NAPIER.

Page 358.

"*H. M. S. Carysfort, Alexandria,*
"*Jan. 19th*, 1841.

"MY DEAR EDWARD,

"I received your letter from Jaffa this moment, the other one you speak of I have not got. I am very glad you have returned from your expedition, as I trust Jochmus, for his own sake, will not be foolish enough to intercept Ibrahim; for long before this he must have heard that my Convention has been approved of by the Government, and I am now carrying it out. The Turkish Fleet are ready, and the first division sail to-day; so you see I have beat all the wise men of the East. * * *

"I suppose you have heard they have made me a K. C. B. * * * * * *

"Mehemet Ali is a fine fellow, and has complied with all my demands. I am going to Cairo in a day or two, this is better than lying in Marmorice Bay. It is quite true you are a Major-General in the Turkish Service. I wrote to you long ago about it, I shall also write about your local rank—your pay will no doubt be settled upon the same footing with the others. Part of the Squadron are gone to Malta,—what is to be my fate I don't know,—but I think I shall apply to go home the moment I am certain there will be no French war. I send you a parcel of letters by Gaza; if I stay here, I shall have a chance of seeing you, as steamers will be on the move till Ibrahim is in Egypt. Write to me all the news by every opportunity, and

"Believe me,

"Your affectionate father,

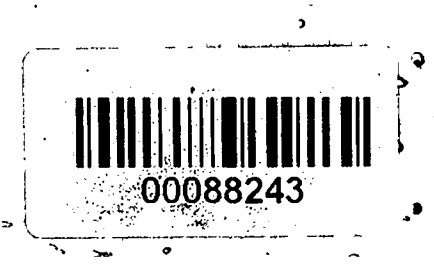
"CHARLES NAPIER."

"P. S. Remember me kindly to Selim Pasha, tell him I have written to Constantinople to say * * * *

"Tell the Emir Beschir I am working for him, and the Mountaineers, both in England and Constantinople, and the Pasha assures me all the Emirs and Sheikhs have been ordered to be released, and, if they come here, I will send them to Syria.

"C. N."

THE END.


00088243

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 09 March, 2016